

THE HISTORY AND PROSPECTS
OF
BRITISH EDUCATION IN INDIA



BEING THE 'LE BAS' PRIZE ESSAY FOR 1890

BY

F. W. THOMAS

SCHOLAR OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE:

DEIGHTON BELL AND CO.

LONDON: GEORGE BELL AND SONS

1891

Cambridge :

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

TO

THE REVEREND ALBERT RICHARD VARDY, M

SOMETIME FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

HEAD-MASTER OF KING EDWARD VI'S SCHOOL, BIRMINGHAM,

THIS ESSAY

IS DEDICATED

BY HIS GRATEFUL PUPIL.

PREFACE.

THE character of the prize essay is so well known that no excuse is left for elaborate apologies. It remains to add a few words of general explanation, and to mention the chief sources from which the writer has derived his facts.

It is only of late years that British Education has commenced to take root in the soil of India. Like other portions of that strange experiment, whereby the newest European methods are being applied to the reorganisation of a long stationary Asiatic society, it has yet to adapt itself to changed conditions, to minds differently constituted and divergent modes of thought. Up to the present its history has been one of measures and statistics, and for this as well as other reasons the account we have given is in part not so much an essay as the material for an essay. It will be long before the changes which are at work in the heart of Hindutism will result in characteristic movements in definite directions. As yet we are unable to predict with certainty what place modern education will finally hold in its theories, and what share the Sanskrit literature and philosophy will retain of its affection and regard. The chief problems of the present and immediate future have received some attention in the concluding chapter. It is hoped that the tone there adopted is not more positive than was intended.

For information recourse has been had in the first place to Parliamentary Blue-books. Of those used the most important are the Reports on East-Indian Affairs with Appendices issued in 1812, 1832, and 1852, and, for the

later periods, the Report of the Education Commission of 1882-3. To the last-mentioned we are indebted for a great part of the facts related in Chaps. IV. and V., although a portion of these was originally obtained from other sources, especially from the Annual Reports on the Moral and Material Progress of the People of India. Among non-official publications should be mentioned, in connection with Chap. I., Adam's 'Three Reports' on Indigenous Education, and the descriptions of the Hindus by Ward, Dubois, and others; with Chap. II., Hough's *Christianity in India*; with Chap. III., Sir Charles Trevelyan's *Education in India*; and with Chap. V., the publications of the General Council on Education in India, along with other pamphlets by the Rev. James Johnston, secretary of the Council, and by Mr John Murdoch. Periodicals, old and new, such as the *Asiatic Journal*, Alexander's *East India Magazine*, the *Calcutta Review*, and the *Asiatic Quarterly*, supply occasional articles of value, while many books treating of Indian affairs in general devote a number of pages to education which are of importance as containing the mature opinions of men familiar with India and its people.

April, 1891.

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APPENDIX E.

LORD HARDINGE'S PROCLAMATION OF 1844. Vide p. 41.

THE Governor-General, having taken into his consideration the existing state of education, and being of opinion that it is highly desirable to afford it every reasonable encouragement, by holding out to those who have taken advantage of the opportunity of instruction afforded to them a fair prospect of employment in the public service, and thereby not only to reward individual merit, but to enable the State to profit as largely and as early as possible, by the result of the measures adopted of late years for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private individuals and societies, has resolved that in every possible case a preference shall be given in the selection of candidates for public employment to those who have been educated in the institutions thus established, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment.

The Governor-General is accordingly pleased to direct that it be an instruction to the Council of Education, and to the several Local Committees, and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending public instruction throughout the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, to submit to that Government at an early date, and subsequently on the 1st of January of each year, returns (prepared according to the form appended to this resolution) of students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the various public offices as, with reference to their age,

abilities, and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill.

The Governor-General is further pleased to direct that the Council of Education be requested to receive from the Governors or managers of all scholastic establishments, other than those supported out of public funds, similar returns of meritorious students; and to incorporate them, after due and sufficient enquiry, with those of Government institutions; and also that managers of such establishments be publicly invited to furnish returns of that description periodically to the Council of Education.

The returns, when received, will be printed and circulated to the heads of all Government offices both in and out of Calcutta, with instructions to omit no opportunity of providing for and advancing the candidates thus presented to their notice; and in filling up every situation, of whatever grade, in their gift, to show them an invariable preference over others not possessed of similar qualifications. The appointment of all such candidates to situations under the Government will be immediately communicated by the appointing officer to the Council of Education, and will by them be brought to the notice of the Government and of the public in their annual reports. It will be the duty of controlling officers, with whom rests the confirmation of appointments made by their subordinates, to see that a sufficient explanation is afforded in every case in which the selection may not have fallen upon an educated candidate whose name is borne on the printed returns.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people the Governor-General is also pleased to direct that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under Government respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot.

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CHAPTER I.

INDIGENOUS EDUCATION.

EDUCATION is no exotic in India. There is no country where the love of learning had so early an origin or has exercised so lasting and powerful an influence. From the simple poets of the Vedic age to the Bengali philosopher of the present day there has been an uninterrupted succession of teachers and scholars. The immense literature which this long period has produced is thoroughly penetrated with the scholastic spirit: and the same spirit has left a deep impress on the social conditions of the people among whom that literature was produced.

The ancient Hindu theory of Education is contained along with the general principles of philosophy, politics, and morality in the comprehensive volume of the Sacred Law, the Institutes of Manu. *Ancient Hindu and Muhammadan education.* It would be interesting, but beside our present purpose, to trace the intimate connection, which, with a characteristic completeness, the native philosophers had as early as four centuries before Christ established between their educational theory, their social order, their religion, and their profound metaphysics. No less interesting, but more difficult a design would be to follow in detail the actual development down to the arrival in India of the second civilized community, the Muhammadans. During this period, which embraces the fourteen centuries ending with the tenth after Christ, there were doubtless many,

¹ In its present form the Code is certainly much later than this.

changes and revolutions in the spheres of government, morality, and knowledge. Learning and the different studies, no doubt, experienced many vicissitudes of popularity and unpopularity. Though Hindu education has always been essentially local, we should naturally be led to imagine, even were we not credibly informed, that different teachers and seats of learning acquired and lost great reputations, that under monarchs of varying temperament knowledge was alternately patronized and eclipsed in camps and cities, that the minute partition of the country among different governments and the resulting wars and conquests, largely controlled its continuance and spread. But there was one permanent, and, on the whole, beneficent influence, universally present, which secured or rescued the study of letters from utter annihilation, I mean the authority of the Brahman caste. It was to this spirit, and authority that India owed the preservation of her culture, at whatever value it may be estimated, through long periods of darkness which history has not yet succeeded in penetrating.

The history of Muhammadan education in India we have no ambition to investigate. Everywhere guiltless of system, it was more than usually fragmentary in a country where Moslem rule was, except during the briefest periods, synonymous with anarchy. As elsewhere, there were perhaps attached to the mosques the usual classes for studying the *Koran*. We read, also, that the emperor Aurangzeb established universities in all the principal cities, and erected schools in every inferior town, providing them with school-books, libraries, and endowments. But how much of this was profession and how much actuality, and what is the precise force of the word university as here used, must be left undecided.

*The
education
which the
English
found in
India.*

We turn to the subject proper to this chapter, and proceed to give as accurate an account as is possible of the state of native education which the earliest English researches discovered in operation in India.

The early missionaries were too closely occupied in denouncing the intemoralities of the Hindu gods, as related

in the 'Shasters,' to supply more than vague, general, and prejudiced hints concerning the education going on around them. It was about the year 1820 that interest began to be aroused in the subject. Articles appeared in the contemporary periodicals, and Government was induced to make careful inquiries preparatory to undertaking fresh measures of its own. Of these researches the three most important series were conducted in the presidencies of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal, during the years 1822—6, 1823—8, and 1835—8 respectively. They were set on foot by three of the most eminent English governors who have ruled in India, by Sir Thomas Munro, by the Honourable Mountstuart (afterwards Lord) Elphinstone, and by Lord William Bentinck. Later inquiries were instituted by Mr Thomason in the North-West Provinces in 1845—50, and by Dr Leitner in the Panjab in 1880—2.

In the year 1822 Sir Thomas Munro then Governor of Madras, ordered an investigation to be made into the state of indigenous education in his presidency. He was distressed at the rapid decay of literature and the arts which he saw going on, and the deep ignorance in which the masses were sunk, and he felt it to be one of the chief duties of the East India Company to carry out the wishes of Parliament by providing for the 'moral and intellectual amelioration' of the people. His first measure was to ascertain the extent of the disease. The results of his inquiries were not made known until 1826, in which year Sir Thomas reported to the Directors as follows¹:—

*Sir
Thomas
Munro.*

'The Board of Revenue was directed by the Government on the 2nd of July, 1822, to ascertain the number of schools and the state of education among the natives; and with their letter of the 21st of February last they transmitted the reports on this subject which they had received from the several collectors. From these reports on this subject it appears that the number of schools and of what are called colleges in the territories under this presidency amount to 12,498, and the population to 12,350,911: so that there is one school to every thousand of the population; but as only a very few females are taught in schools, we may reckon one school to every 500 of the population.

¹ In a minute dated March 10th.

'It is remarked by the Board of Revenue that of a population of twelve and a half millions there are only 188,000 or 1 in 67 receiving education. This is true of the whole population, but not as regards the male part of it, of which the proportion educated is much greater than is here estimated: for, if we take the whole population as stated in the report at 12,850,000, and deduct one half for females, the remaining male population will be 6,425,000; and if we reckon the male population between the ages of 5 and 10 years, which is the period which boys in general remain at school, at one-ninth, it will give 713,000, which is the number of boys that would be at school if all the males above five years of age were educated: but the number actually attending the schools is only 184,110, or little more than one-fourth of that number...I am however inclined to estimate the portion of the whole population who receive school education to be nearer *one-third* than *one-fourth* of the whole because we have no returns of the numbers taught at home. In Madras the number taught at home is 26,903, or about five times greater than that taught in the schools...The state of education exhibited, low as it is compared with that of our own country, is higher than it was in most European countries at no very distant times... Teachers in general do not earn more than 6 or 7 rupees monthly....'

Sir Thomas gives a description of the indigenous schools, which we shall not quote, as it coincides in all essentials with that we shall compress from Mr Adam's report of the schools he visited. The scheme for improvement which Sir Thomas appends will be described in a later chapter.

*Hon. M.
Elphinstone in
Bombay.*

Elphinstone's researches in Bombay were set on foot in the year 1823 from the same motives as were those of Munro in Madras. They are communicated by Mr Francis Warden, member of Council, in a minute of 1832.

'It further appears,' he writes, 'that in the British territories dependent on Bombay, containing a population of 4,681,735 souls, there are 1705 schools at which 35,143 scholars were receiving education; 25 schools having 1315 scholars being maintained by the Government; and 1680 are village schools having 33,838 scholars.'

According to Munro's calculation there would be in a population of 4,681,735 souls, some 260,010 males of the school age, i.e. between five and ten years old. It follows that in the Bombay territories only one in eight boys of the proper age was receiving any instruction whatever. As throughout the rest of India, there was in this presidency little trace of female education.

From the completion of the Bombay inquiries in 1828 seven years elapsed before anything similar was attempted in Bengal. In January, 1835, Mr W. Adam was appointed by Lord Bentinck to investigate the state of education in Bengal and Bahar. His three reports, published by order of Government, appeared in July 1835, in 1836, and in 1838 respectively. The first of these was a compilation from various sources of all that had been previously ascertained on the subject; the second deals with the district of Rajshahi in Bengal, and the third with certain other districts in Bengal and Bahar: both the latter contain the results of Mr Adam's own researches, and to the last the writer appends a discussion of various current schemes for improving the native education. From the accuracy of their information, the candour, sense, and statesmanship of their author these three reports are among the most valuable and interesting publications extant on Education in India.

The facts brought to light by Munro and Elphinstone had been ascertained in the course of years through the company's district officers. Mr Adam's method was to make minute inquiries over a small area and from the result to draw wider deductions. The particular districts were selected at random, and no reason existed for supposing them in any way peculiar.

The general results arrived at were these: in a population of 7,789,152 there were 3355 schools with 41,247 scholars: in a population of 692,270 there were 2414 children being taught at home, a number which would represent in case of a population of 7,789,152, about 28,000: of the adult male population on the average about 5.55 per cent. could read and write. On the whole about 7.8 per cent. of children of the school age were being taught at school and over 5.2 per cent. at home, giving a total percentage of 13.

The schools were of four kinds, (1) Hindu elementary or *pāthsālas*, (2) Hindu Schools of Learning or *Tols*, (3) Muhammadan elementary, (4) Muhammadan Schools of Learning, or *mukhtabs*.

1. *Pā-
thshālās.*

Hindu elementary schools, or as they would more properly be styled, classes, existed in most of the villages¹ of India, a country of agriculture and villages. At about seven o'clock in the morning from six to twelve nearly naked Hindu boys would assemble in a shed belonging either to the village or to some individual: where no hovel was available the schoolroom would be nothing more than the shade of some wide-branching tree. The teachers, from the earliest times village officers, were supported not by regular fees, but by presents on leaving and other occasions, by weekly or monthly gifts in money, grain, food cooked and uncooked, or clothes, the whole varying in monthly value from one-quarter of a rupee (sixpence) to five rupees. Though belonging chiefly to the Kayasth, or writer caste, they were little respected and poorly rewarded, nor was there any inducement to persons of talent or character to take up the profession. All the teaching was oral, not only printed books, but even manuscripts being entirely unknown. The boys commenced schooling at the age of five or six, and the five years during which they attended were divided into four well-defined stages. For the first eight or ten days they were occupied in tracing the vowels and consonants, first with their fingers on a sandboard, and afterwards with a pencil of steatite or white crayon on the floor. During the following year they were taught 'to write on the palm leaf with a reed pen held in the fist, not with the fingers, and with ink made of charcoal which rubs out, joining vowels to the consonants, forming compound letters, syllables and words, and learning tables of numeration, money, weight, and measure, and the correct mode of writing the distinctive names of persons, castes, and places. Six months were next spent in studying the four rules of arithmetic, the elements of mensuration of land and of commercial and agricultural accounts, in writing with ink made of lamp-black on the palm leaf, and in learning the modes of address proper in writing to persons of different rank.' The last period was

¹ The *bazar* or town schools, comparatively few in number, though slightly superior, differed in no essential respect from those in villages.

devoted to advanced arithmetic, mensuration and accounts, and the composition of letters written on paper. As even at the present day educated Hindus are seldom able to write their vernacular correctly, it is no surprise to hear that in very few cases was the orthography of the native languages acquired in the *páthsálas*. Literary, moral, or religious instruction there was none. For the latter the people were dependent on regular and occasional readings and recitations concerning the gods, which formed part of the duty, not always fulfilled, of the *Srottriya* Brahmins. In the neighbourhood of Calcutta some of the schools had been improved by the introduction of the School-book Society's publications. But these were for the most part regarded rather as 'valuable curiosities than as instruments of knowledge.'

It must not be imagined that these schools were intended for the lowest or even the lower classes. Though theoretically open to all but low castes or outcasts, they were resorted to chiefly by the sons of the shopkeeping, trading, merchant, and banking castes; the agricultural and inferior classes were completely uninstructed. The amount of learning imparted was entirely dependent on the masters, and no doubt varied widely according to their diligence and capacity. In the worst cases the precocious Hindu boys acquired, as was natural considering that they were destined to follow their fathers' occupations, a wonderful facility and precision in arithmetic, and especially in mental arithmetic. On the whole we may say that the teachers seem to have been fairly conscientious, regarding their occupation as one with a long and honourable tradition which, like all Indian traditions, had acquired something of the binding force of the sacred Law.

The *tols*, or Hindu schools of learning, were entirely un- 2. *Tols*.
connected with the *páthsálas*, or village schools. So complete, indeed, was the severance that even the slight vernacular instruction that necessarily preceded the entrance to the *tols* was generally obtained not in the *páthsálas* but at home. Inferior in numbers to the *páthsálas*—being in the proportion of about one to three in number of schools and one to ten in number of scholars—the *tols* bore a much higher reputation

and possessed very different traditions. Although theoretically the study of grammar, lexicology, poetical and dramatic literature, rhetoric, and astronomy were open to be studied by inferior castes, and only law, philosophy, mythology were the exclusive inheritance of the Brahmans, yet, except in the case of medicine, which was confined to the Vaidyas or medical caste, all higher education was imparted only by Brahman teachers and received only by Brahman boys. The Brahman children are much superior to other Hindus, and are described as bright-looking, intelligent, modest and polite. Of the pandits themselves I cannot forbear quoting from Mr Adam's work a somewhat lengthy description.

'I saw men not only unpretending, but plain and simple in their manners, and though seldom, if ever, offensively coarse, yet reminding me of the very humblest classes of English and Scottish peasantry; living constantly half-naked and realizing in this respect the descriptions of savage life; inhabiting huts which, if we connect moral consequences with physical causes, might be supposed to have the effect of stunting the growth of their minds, or in which only the most contracted minds might be supposed to have room to dwell—and yet several of these men are adepts in the subtleties of the profoundest grammar of what is probably the most philosophical language in existence; not only practically skilled in the niceties of its usage, but also in the principles of its structure; familiar with all the varieties and applications of their national laws and literature and indulging in the abstrusest and most interesting disquisitions in logical and ethical philosophy. They are in general shrewd, discriminating, and mild in their demeanour. The modesty of their character does not consist in abjectness to a supposed or official superior, but is equally shewn to each other. I have observed some of the worthiest speak with unaffected humility of their own pretensions to learning, with admiration of the learning of a stranger and countryman who was present, with high respect of the learning of a townsman who happened to be absent, and with just praise of the learning of another townsman after he had retired, although in his presence they were silent respecting his attainments.'

Such were the men who in that wonderful land were the visible representatives of culture, religion, and all the higher forces in men. For we must remember that to them the pursuit of knowledge was the keystone of their religion, and partook of the nature of a sanctification. This fact explains at once their devotion, their scorn of shallowness, and their

unprogressiveness. If their virtues were those of a tropical race of low vitality, they were without the vices which are most prominent in peoples of a more energetic type. If their writings are not seldom guilty of prolixity or childishness, if they have passed heedlessly by the strangest enormities in their social life, they have at any rate avoided vulgarity and superficiality, and perhaps in India alone has the full connotation of the word 'sacred' been practically realized.

The *tols* were not supported by fees, which indeed are forbidden by the 'Institutes of Manu.' Only at the end of his course the scholar was permitted to make a present to his teacher. The cost of maintenance was supplied chiefly by the, often considerable, presents to Brahmins, which Hindus regularly make at all feasts and gala-days. Not seldom the school was possessed of a small endowment consisting of a piece of ground, or a house, either supplied by the village itself or the gift of some dead king or vizir. Besides imparting instruction gratis, the teacher often, and in the case of *bidesi* or students from other villages regularly, provided his pupils with food and clothing. The intercourse between teacher and scholar was thus something more like what a Fichte might conceive than what we are accustomed to. Bound together as they were not only by the common study of sacred books, but also by close ties of caste and race, there was room for the interchange of reverence for the teacher and affection for the scholar.

The course of study often lasted for as much as 20 years, from the 10th to the 30th: but this period was much diminished by frequent and lengthy vacations. It must not be imagined that it sufficed for the acquisition of the whole circle of the sciences. At an early date special schools for Literature, Law, Logic, Vedānta, Mythology, Ritual, and Medicine had supplanted the primitive schools of wider range. For long lists of special works on all these subjects which were in use, I must refer to Mr Adam, and to a more easily accessible book, Ward's 'Hindoos.' The curriculum of the schools of Literature may be briefly outlined as grammar, lexicology, rhetoric, poetry and the drama: of the Law

schools, the sacred text-books on Law, with long and disputatious commentaries: of the schools of Logic, formal and material logic, metaphysics, and religion: of the Vedāntic, the texts and commentaries of the Vedānta Philosophy: of the Pauranic, the long mythological poems: of the Tantric, the works on ritual: while the medical schools possessed a considerable literature on their subject.

The general characteristics of the instruction given were impracticality and thoroughness. The pandit is ignorant of the proportion among things and careless of the flight of time. To him nothing is so distasteful as incomplete enumeration of heads, or imperfect treatment of the matter thus scientifically divided. Commentaries on commentaries are committed to memory. The minutest questions evoke discussions lasting for days. All the resources of an eminently philosophic language are one day exhausted in building up arguments on one side of a question: the next day, when the pupils have been thoroughly convinced, the master will say 'tad asat,' 'all that is fallacious,' and proceed to give a complete refutation of all he has before advanced.

This kind of training produced its characteristic results, an unworldliness and a devotion to knowledge, a want of practical sagacity, an intellectual isolation and class-feeling, more intensified than has been witnessed by any other country. Yet if we are to ascribe to these facts many of the incongruities which we found existing in India, it is but fair to reckon among their remarkable results the general poverty of a class which for so many centuries had possessed an unquestioned authority, limited only by Cape Comorin and the Himalaya.

3. *Muhammudan
Elementary
Schools.*

The Muhammadan elementary and higher schools were closely connected. In the population of nearly eight millions which Mr Adam's researches covered they numbered 741 and contained nearly 4000 scholars. The higher schools were often nothing but the upper parts of elementary schools.

To the Muhammadan the essence of all literature and science is summed up in the Koran, and even the most

ignorant of the faithful knows by heart a few verses, whether he understands the language in which they are written or not. Their vernacular in India is the Urdū or Hindustāni; their two sacred languages, both enriched by versions of the Koran, are the Persian and the Arabic. The Persian schools were chiefly, though not entirely, elementary, the Arabic more advanced. The general system has been described as a loose kind of private tuition. The teacher was often closely connected with one particular family, but was permitted to augment his small income by teaching other children in addition. Gratuitous instruction was common, and the scholars were not seldom fed and lodged as well as taught for no reward. In the elementary schools the ordinary course was somewhat as follows:—The children were first taught the alphabet. Next the 30th section of the Koran with diacritical points was committed to memory by rote and without any knowledge of the sense, simply as a basis for grammatical teaching: the ‘Panjmanah of Sa’di’—a collection of moral sayings, was similarly treated: after this came instruction in writing, and the ‘Arzumanah,’ a work on Persian verbs: when fully primed with grammar, the boys at length essayed a grammatical, literary, and general philological study of the ‘Gulistan of Sadi’: lessons in letter writing were sometimes given and occasionally a work on rhetoric, theology, or medicine was studied. The scholars assembled at 6 o’clock in the morning, and worked with an interval of about three hours, until 9 in the evening. The years of study began from 4½ to 13, and ended at 12 or 17. The above description applies mainly to the Persian elementary schools: the few Arabic schools of this class pursued a similar course with similar regulations.

Compared with the Hindu schools, which as we have seen were vernacular and commercial, the Muhammadan schools were literary and philological and employed a learned language. The latter had however a monetary value, inasmuch as throughout the Musulman rule, and under the English, until 1835, the Persian was the language of the courts of law in

India. To this was due the surprising circumstance that quite half the students in Persian schools were Hindus, chiefly Brahmans or belonging to the Kayasth, or writer caste. Owing, perhaps, to the same fact the language was very thoroughly known and the scholars obtained a command over it similar to that which the English have of their own tongue.

4. *Muhammadan schools of learning.*

It is unnecessary to enlarge on the Muhammadan schools of Learning, inasmuch as they were very similar to the corresponding Hindu schools. The language employed was almost always Arabic, and the students were to a man Musalmans. Perhaps on the whole the Arabic schools were less specialized than those of the Hindus. Arabic learning is not unknown to Europe. There were complete courses of reading in rhetoric, logic, law, *ritsāi*, and theology: the Koran was everywhere studied: Euclid and Ptolemy's astronomy were familiar in translations, and other branches of natural philosophy followed: the whole edifice was crowned by the study of reputed works on metaphysics. There is a trite but, as the writer is informed, accurate comparison between the state of Muhammadan learning in India at this period and that of European learning before the invention of printing.

Burmah.

We have now sketched the state of Hindu and Muhammadan Education. Concerning the Buddhists a few words will suffice. Burmah, one of their head-quarters of the exiled religion, is not according to our ideas a part of India. It is however under the Indian Government, and has always been closely connected with the peninsula. On Buddhist education a writer in the *Asiatic Journal* for 1841 (No. 34, N.S.), has the following observations:—

‘Except in remote villages the people are upon a perfect equality in regard to education, which is accounted for by the fact that they are all instructed in the common routine of college instruction, which is everywhere the same and embraces reading and writing in the vernacular and a smattering of Pāli. The colleges have no direct revenues; the priests are dependent upon the free-will offerings of the people for their subsistence and clothing; but usage has imposed upon parents the duty of feeding the clergy of the college in which their offspring are educated:

a large number of scholars forms therefore the best endowment of the brotherhood, which may account for the vehemence with which they exhort their hearers to send their children to school, denouncing the negligent in this respect as the enemies of religion.¹

These schools, which are attended by girls on the same terms as by boys, continue to this day to prosper, and in 1875 the Government officer observed that the best educated districts of Burmah were those which had been for the shortest time connected with the English.*

Female education has received up to the present only incidental mention. In India proper with a slight exception none existed. The belief in the natural depravity of women, the practice of murdering female children, early marriage, the ignominy or burning of widows, and perhaps to some extent the gross and indecent character of nearly all vernacular literature, put an effectual bar on the only means of raising their condition. The exception was in the case of the daughters of Rajput nobles and of zemindars, who often received a limited commercial education from their fathers or their family priests.

Female Education.

The general statistics arrived at by the inquiries instituted by Lord Bentinck, Lord Elphinstone, and Sir Thomas Munro were these. On the average about one boy out of ten of the proper age was in the years 1820—1840 receiving some kind of indigenous education. Mr Thomson in the North-West Provinces and Sir John Lawrence in the Panjab made similar investigations in 1845 and 1849 respectively. In the Panjab the numbers were found to vary from one school to every 1783 inhabitants to one school to every 1441, while out of 23,000,000 people under the Governor of the North-West Provinces 68,000 were attending native schools. According to Munro's rough calculation this will give, for the Panjab—reckoning ten boys to each school—one boy attending school to every nine of the proper age, for the North-West Provinces one boy in every eighteen. On the whole¹

Summary.

¹ Taking into consideration the fact that Munro's estimate of the proportion of children of school age to population is too small, the proportion at present accepted being 15 per cent.

we shall probably be not far wrong if we accept one in ten as the real proportion which the number of Indian boys attending school usually bore to the number who should have been attending. If we add the number of female children under tuition it will not appreciably affect this estimate.

CHAPTER II.

THE EARLY MISSIONARIES.

SUCH was the character and extent of the native education, revealed by the earliest English researches. The facts can be summarized in a few words. The lower orders were entirely uninstructed. The castes of middle rank, including the landholding and trading classes, received a scanty and, in the case of the Hindus, strictly commercial training. Every Brahman was able to read and write, and there was a considerable body of men of this class, who had partaken of what might be styled a liberal education, while not a few had further obtained considerable eminence in such special studies as grammar, logic, rhetoric, mathematics, and metaphysics. It is true that in physical and mathematical science their knowledge was infinitely inferior to that current in Europe at that date. It is true that in these branches real progress had ceased for centuries. But what was taught was well taught, and the attainments of the Hindus were not inferior to those of any ancient nation, or to those of European scholars prior to the Renaissance. There is further reason to believe that we found education like everything else in India in a state of decline, due to the anarchy and oppression, which had prostrated the people's energies for more than three centuries.

The rest of this essay will be occupied with English efforts. But we shall have occasion to observe how largely these efforts have been furthered by the preexistence of such a wide-spread system, and how large a part of the immense

number of schools at present in operation are simply reconstructions of the ancient indigenous classes, which we find to have existed in every village.

*Periods of
British
Education in
India.*

European education in India has passed through three well-defined stages, of which it is essential to possess a clear presentation. The *first* begins early in the 18th century and ends nominally at the year 1814, really at 1823. It is a period of almost entirely private effort with only occasional Government interference. Not till late in the century had the East India Company acquired any extensive territorial dominion: nor did it at first recognise any obligations to native subjects beyond mere business integrity. Such aid as was given to education had the ulterior object of conciliating the natives. The *second* period ends with the great despatch of Sir Charles Wood in 1854, which established new principles and introduced something like uniformity into the previously divergent administrations. The *third* period extends to the present day. It is however broken into two subdivisions at the year 1882—3. The present chapter is occupied with the first period.

*The
Danish
Mission-
aries.*

In India, as elsewhere, the pioneers of education were the missionaries. Omitting the successful labours at Goa of the sainted Xavier in the 16th century, and of the Dutch in Ceylon in the 17th, the first teachers whom we need mention were the earliest Danish Missionaries, Ziegenbalg and Plutschou. Arriving at Tranquebar, the Danish station on the South-Eastern Coast, in the year 1706 they set themselves at once to study the vernaculars, Portuguese and Tamul, with a view to teaching. By the year 1712 two small works had been printed in Tamul. Two years later the New Testament had been translated, and in 1725 the version of the Old Testament begun by Ziegenbalg was completed by his great successor, Schulze. The schools at no time contained any large number of children. In 1746 about 300, the numbers never rose above 400, and in 1796 they sank owing to poverty to about 100. But the East India Company being now dominant in South India, the addition of the English language brought 170 children into

the schools. Tranquebar fell to the English in 1801, and the consequent cessation of supplies from Denmark would have prematurely put an end to the mission but for occasional aid from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and after 1812 for regular aid from the Church Missionary Society. By these means it lingered until 1820; but already in 1815 its schools, 23 in number and containing nearly 700 scholars, of whom 150 at least were taught English, passed into the hands of the Christian Knowledge and Church Missionary Societies, under which they continued to flourish.

The history of this Danish mission, interesting in itself for the ability and character of its missionaries Ziegenbalg, Schulze, and Schwartz, has in spite of its insignificance, been here noticed, because it narrates the earliest attempts at Protestant education, which has now attained a great development in India, and because the Danish mission was the means of inciting the numerous English sects to similar efforts. To us it has a special interest inasmuch as the missionaries came in contact with almost all the fundamental questions which have excited discussion in connection with education in India, and some of which are vehemently debated even at the present day. In the *first* place there was the question of religious education. In the year 1725 the Danish Government established 17 schools for 'Heathen and Muhammadan' children, which along with four missionary schools soon contained nearly 600 scholars. They were at first placed under the charge of the missionaries: but these, finding that in 13 of the schools they were permitted to introduce no 'useful' books beyond a work on Natural Religion, and failing to agree with the heathen teachers, came to the conclusion that teaching was less 'useful' than preaching. In the dearth of other reliable teachers their secession involved the speedy decline of the schools. *Secondly*, the provision of teachers and the choice of the language to be employed were pressing and difficult questions. They were settled without debate in a simple manner which has commended itself to history. The first measure of the missionaries was to learn the vernacular, Tamil, and to teach it to

the children. So long as the Portuguese was to any extent current in Tranquebar that also was employed. The English having become the dominant power in Southern India, their language took the place of Portuguese. It was not imparted indiscriminately to children who would never find any use for it, but in the seminaries and normal classes it was adopted as the most convenient means of giving access to the stores of European knowledge. The native Brahmanical learning, and the Sanskrit language, the missionaries never dreamed of using. *Thirdly*, they set themselves to produce a vernacular literature. This was chiefly of a religious nature. From subscriptions raised in England a press was sent out to Tranquebar in 1710. With this the missionaries continued until 1761, when a second press was founded at Vepery, to supply the wants of all the stations in Southern India. They translated the Bible into Tamul and Telugu, they compiled a Tamul dictionary, they provided school-books for their own and other stations. The provision of suitable text-books and the encouragement of a pure vernacular literature have been some of the most meritorious achievements of British Education in India.

*English
Mission-
aries.*

It was in the year 1727 that the first English Mission was established at Madras. Seventeen years before interest in the Danish Mission had been excited in England. Presents in books and money, congratulatory addresses from the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the printing-press mentioned above were the firstfruits of the revival. As early as 1716 the Danes had started a Tamul school at Madras, and the English chaplain was keeping up two Charity schools. These soon declined. But in 1727 M. Schulze, having determined to remain permanently at Madras, was adopted by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge as their missionary. Thenceforward by help from Tranquebar and also from Germany the Society maintained a missionary staff, under whose auspices stations were chosen at Tanjore, Palamecottah, Trichinopoli, Cuddalore and Madras. The great missionary Schwartz, who arrived in India in 1760, was their chief agent in establishing schools at all these places. No one interested

in missionary education can help paying a tribute to that illustrious pioneer, who did more than any other in the 18th century for Christianity and education in the peninsula.

The year 1793 saw the appearance of a third missionary society, that of the Baptists who settled in Bengal. Yet in spite of the activity of this additional body it is to be doubted whether at the end of the century 1000 Indian children were receiving instruction in European schools.

At the beginning of the 19th century a great impulse was given to missionary enterprise. In 1804 the London Missionary Society began to plant settlements in South India, at Vizagapatam, Ganjam, Travancore, Bellary and in Ceylon: Bengal was added in 1816. The Church Missionary Society and the Wesleyan Society were attracted in 1814, and they occupied stations at Madras, Tranquebar, Agrii, Meerut, Calcutta, Surat, and in Ceylon. It is to be observed that almost all the places mentioned here and above were on or near the coast: the interior remained untouched. It does not come within the scope of this essay to follow in detail the weak and isolated educational efforts of these several societies. On the whole it is probable that at the close of our first period there were about 14,000 children under tuition. Of these 10,000 were attached to the Baptist Mission at Serampur and nearly 900 were in the schools originally belonging to the Danish Mission at Tranquebar.

If now we seek to obtain a clear idea of the character of these missionary schools, we shall be struck in the first place with their extreme inadequacy and precariousness. *Character of Missionary Schools.* Until he came at the beginning of the present century to be regarded by the Company as a dangerous character, the missionary was simply a despised interloper. He was perpetually in need of money. The Brahmans regarded him as not only an impure, but also an ignorant foreigner, an accusation which was not seldom true. The children whom he enticed into his schools were for the most part either Eurasians, orphans, or outcasts. He felt bound to give religious instruction; and the report of a conversion temporarily emptied his schools. His teaching was entirely

gratuitous; and his pupils felt that, if they endured his Christianity, his generous labours were amply repaid. They glibly repeated his prayers and catechisms; and went home to enjoy and share in the scoffs with which their parents refuted the new teaching. Distressed at the degradation of woman, he turned his attention to female education; but such of his female pupils as he did not purchase from their parents were often of a character as doubtful as their origin, and many a pious missionary's wife has been appalled by the most distressing discoveries concerning her protégés. If we add to these difficulties the necessity in the midst of multifarious occupations of writing text-books in a foreign language but half understood, of training teachers and keeping a close watch on them when trained, we shall not be surprised to find that the knowledge imparted was extremely elementary. Yet an attempt was generally made to teach English to at least one or two boys. Where the work was more concentrated more was possible. The Baptist Mission at Serampur under Carey, Ward, Brunden, Grant and Marshman, all men of distinction, was able to provide a number of schools of higher grade, where elementary works on grammar, arithmetic, astronomy, geography, general history, and 'treatises on the Creator and on the nature of the Soul' were used.

*Isolated
Government
attempts.*

Elementary and precarious as it was, obstructed by the prejudices of the Government and the fears of the natives, the early missionary education is nevertheless interesting as the first beginnings of a now widely-prevalent system. Its chief importance lay, however, in the fact that it was the means of attracting the attention of the Government both in India and at home to what soon became a plain duty. The first project for native education which can in any way be ascribed to the Government was that of Mr Sullivan, resident at Tanjore, who in 1784 propounded a scheme for setting up English schools for the higher classes of every province. With the assistance of the missionary Schwartz a few schools were started. They maintained a flickering vitality until the year 1787 when the Court of Directors took them in

¹ Vide Hoogh, *iv.* pp. 195 sqq.

hand. £100 sterling was assigned as the yearly endowment of each of the schools, and a course of reading was drawn up which included English, accounts, writing, Tamul, Hindustani, and some Christian instruction. But it was not the intention of Government to patronize Christianity and the last item was subsequently very much curtailed. The schools, in spite of some opposition, for a time succeeded. The pupils, mainly Brahmans, made no objection to a little Christianity through the medium of the English language, and those in authority went so far as to contribute to the maintenance of the schools. But how long this forbearance lasted and the schools continued to trouble the surrounding darkness, I have been unable to discover.

Meanwhile the question had been attacked by a higher authority. In 1784 Warren Hastings, then Governor-General, with the double object of arresting the decay of oriental learning and of encouraging cordial feeling between the English and their subjects, determined on the establishment of an Arabic College or Madrassa at Calcutta. The promotion of Orientalism was thenceforth until the year of Macaulay's famous minute, 1835, the settled policy of the Government. Its correctness will be discussed below. It may be doubted whether the Madrassa or the subsequent colleges accomplished or could have accomplished either of their objects. Already in 1791 the Madrassa needed reformation. Each of its few students was encouraged by a monthly stipend: a special committee of superintendence was appointed: the rents by which it was maintained were exchanged for a fixed yearly revenue: finally a plan of study was elaborated, embracing the accepted Muhammadan principles of natural philosophy, theology, law, astronomy, geometry, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, oratory, and grammar. In 1819 a yearly income of ₹30,000 was assigned, and in 1823 ₹1,40,537 was invested in a new building. Under this encouragement it was in the year 1829 extending instruction to 99 stipendiary students. The Muhammadan College at Calcutta was followed in 1791 by the Sanskrit College at Benares, the ancient sacred city of the Hindus. Founded by Mr. Jonathan Duncan, the British

Resident, under the pretence of providing expounders of the Hindu law, its real object is clear from the proposed course of study, which included the entire curriculum of Hindu study. The internal discipline was to conform to the second and third Chapters of the Institutes of Manu. We hear of no expounders of the law trained in the college, but doubtless Hindu studies were prosecuted with the usual acuteness, diligence, and devotion. In 1828, after a revision in 1811, the college, like the Madrassa under a committee of superintendence, at that time established, contained 277 students, of whom 249 were Brahmans. Its income from Government was ₹20,000 a year.

The college of Lord Wellesley at Fort William (1800) need not detain us: its object was to complete the education of civil servants. It was reduced in size in 1803. It never possessed much importance.

*Three
classes of
Schools in
India.*

Of the three kinds of education now carried on in India, Indigenous, Missionary, and Government education, something has been now said about the first, and about the beginnings of the second and third. Henceforth Government education will engage most of our attention. The other two will need only occasional brief résumés.

Entirely private efforts have until late years occupied a very subordinate position and will not require to be dilated on. In Appendix A. will be found some details with regard to the few private, i.e. charitable, schools which were instituted in India during this period.

CHAPTER III.

THE SECOND PERIOD, 1814—1854.

It is a trite, but true saying that nearly all the large measures of reform which have benefited India since it came under British rule have been mainly advocated and effected in England. This appeal, as it might seem, from the well-informed to the ignorant has been in reality an appeal from justice in India to justice universal, a truth which is nowhere better illustrated than in connection with education in 1813, in 1833, in 1853, and in 1878. The East India Company was under no obligation to instruct the children of the Hindus. It was justified, as it was successful, in resisting the proposals of Graft and Wilberforce to introduce an education clause into the renewed charter of 1793. None the less, was it true, as Parliament twenty years after had come to see, that in a large view of the circumstances it was the duty of England to improve the state of knowledge among her subjects in India. The following words deserve to be quoted from a tract on the Condition of the People of India by Charles Grant, the friend of Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay.

‘By planting our language, our knowledge, our opinions, and our religion in our Asiatic territories we shall put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies. We shall probably have wedded the inhabitants of these territories to this country; but at any rate we shall have done an act of strict duty to them and a lasting service to mankind.’

In 1813 the 'Clapham Set' was victorious, and among other provisions which they advocated the following regulation was included in the Charter of 1813:

'That a sum of not less than one lakh of rupees in each year shall be set apart and applied to the founding and maintaining of colleges, schools, public lectures, and other institutions for the revival and improvement of literature, and encouragement of the learned natives of India, and for the introduction and promotion of a knowledge of the sciences among the inhabitants of the British territories in India.'

*Applica-
tion of
the Grant.*

As might be expected, the Directors were not a little embarrassed as to the disposal of the £10,000 a year with which, contrary to their wish, they suddenly found themselves presented from their own revenues. In the year 1814 they communicate with the Governor-General on the subject. They propose to spend the money not in building new colleges, but in improving those already in existence, to concentrate expenditure on some particular city (and they name Benares), to confer marks of distinction on natives, and to inspire their younger civil servants with a desire to study the Sanskrit language. On the last topic their just observations deserve to be quoted, as one of the strongest arguments which the orientalists might have adduced in their controversy with the advocates of English studies during the years 1830—5:—

'We are informed that there are in the Sanskrit language many excellent systems of Ethics with codes of laws and compendiums of the duties to every class of the people, the study of which might be useful to those natives who may be destined for the judicial department of Government. There are also many tracts of merit, we are told, on the virtues of drugs and plants, and on the application of them in medicine, the knowledge of which might prove desirable to European practitioners; and there are treatises on astronomy, mathematics, including geometry and algebra, which, though they may not add new lights to European science, might be made to form links of communication between the natives and the gentlemen in our service, who are attached to the observatory and to the Department of Engineers, and by such intercourse the natives might gradually be led to adopt the modern improvements in these and other sciences.'

In spite of these official aspirations it was truly said by witnesses before the Committee on Indian affairs in 1832—3

that until 1823 no real steps were taken to carry out the orders of Parliament. Nay, it was stated by Sir C. E. Trevelyan in his work on Education in India (1838) and also before the Lords' Committee of 1852—3 that for the years 1814—23 a sum of £10,000 a year with compound interest up to the above respective dates was still due from the Company. With great diffidence I venture to suggest that the table given in the Appendix shews that that able and benevolent statesman was in error on this point.

The first decisive step was the appointment of a 'Com-
 mittee of Public Instruction.' This board was formed in 1823. It was charged with the disposal of the yearly lakh of Rupees, and all the institutions in the presidency at that time maintained by the Government were placed under its authority. In addition to the colleges already mentioned, the Calcutta Madrassa and the Benares Sanskrit College, the establishments¹ which fell under their charge consisted of a few elementary schools at Chinsurah, Benares, Ajmir, and Bhagalpur, a Madrassa at Mushidabad, a college at Agra, the Sanskrit College at Calcutta, and the Vidyālaya or Hindu College also at Calcutta. Concerning the last and most interesting of these a few details may be here inserted.

*The 'Com-
 mittee of
 Public In-
 struction'
 and the
 est. which
 ment it
 started
 with.*

In the year 1816 at the instigation of David Hare, a Calcutta watchmaker, a number of the leading Hindus of Calcutta met to found a college for teaching European knowledge. Mr Harrington, a Government agent, aided in drawing up the scheme, but no material assistance was afforded. The college was to be reserved for Hindus of good social status. By means of private contributions amounting in all to about £11,318 sterling, it maintained, under what Government we cannot tell, an obscure and precarious existence until the year 1819. It was then taken in hand by authority, established on a firm basis, endowed with Rs. 25,000 a year. By this combination of English and native efforts arose the first Government College for imparting European knowledge to natives of India, an institution which from the

¹ Some details concerning the institutions mentioned are given in Appendix B.

first projected an ample scheme, embracing all the elements of a liberal education, and to which modern India has owed more than to any other. Under the title of Presidency College it is still the most important college in the peninsula.

Publication of Oriental books.

Such was the scant and motley organisation with which the Committee of Instruction was directed to provide for the intellectual amelioration of a whole presidency, namely one English college, six Oriental colleges, and a number of elementary schools in Bengal and Rajputana. The Committee did not however confine its efforts to prevailing instruction. The original instructions of 1814 had suggested the publication of Oriental books, and this was in accordance with the private tastes of several of the members. A press was accordingly started in 1824: it received a monthly endowment of about £70. Great as was the benefit that Sanskrit and Arabic scholarship in England and on the Continent received from this outlay, it must be confessed that as an educational expedient for India it was an embarrassing failure. By the year 1835 when it ceased to operate over a lakh of rupees had been spent, and the result has been forcibly described by Macaulay:

‘These books,’ he writes, ‘find no purchasers. It is very rarely that a single copy is disposed of. Twenty-three thousand folios and quartos fill the libraries or rather the lumber rooms of this body. The Committee contrive to get rid of some portion of their vast stock of Oriental literature by giving books away. But they cannot give so fast as they print. About 20,000 rupees a year are spent in adding fresh masses of waste-paper to a hoard, which, I should think, is already sufficiently ample. During the last three years about 60,000 rupees have been expended in this manner. The sale of Arabic and Sanskrit books during those three years has not yielded quite 1,000 rupees. In the mean time the School-book Society is selling seven or eight thousand English volumes every year, and not only pays the expenses of printing, but realizes a profit of 20 per cent on its outlay.’

The society named, founded in 1817 and conducted by a committee of English Hindus and Muhammadans, had in 1821 put in circulation 126,446 copies of books. Being at that time at a low ebb, it received a yearly grant of 6,000

rupees. Its success was such as Macaulay has described. The Government press, on the other hand, had in 1830 published 15 Sanskrit books, three Hindi, two Arabic and four Persian, while the School-book Society had published 38, including such books as a Sanskrit Grammar, an Arabic Reader, Elements of Natural Philosophy, Ancient History, Breton on Cholera, and Ferguson's Astronomy. The Government press had virtually wasted its money, the School-book Society was making 20 per cent. on its outlay.

It would be useless, if not uninteresting, to follow in any detail the proceedings of the Committee from 1823 to 1830. During that period no new principle was acted on, and but a very few new institutions, the most important of which was the Delhi College (1825), were founded. All the schools except the Hindu College were carried on almost entirely on the lines of the earlier colleges. Stipends were general, and they were granted and continued without any regard to proficiency. Probably on the whole about one-third of the students were paid for being educated, and in the year 1835 no less than 853 stipendiaries were in receipt of an aggregate of about £300 a month.

The most important of the few innovations of the period was the establishment of English classes in all the chief colleges. This measure, carried out in the years 1828—30, was an uniform success. Benares College, where the number increased in one year from 163 to 279, was one instance among several. A medical class was started in the Madrasa and Sanskrit College at Calcutta.

It was a significant fact that of all the institutions under Government the most successful was the Hindu College, the only one in which European literature and science were the staple of instruction. Not only had its numbers increased from about 70 in 1819 to 196 in 1826, to 433, 421, 409 in 1828—9—30 respectively, but its wide plan of instruction had been thoroughly carried out. In a letter dated Oct. 24, 1832, the Directors comment as follows on the official reports which had reached them :

‘To an extensive command of the English language the pupils add

a complete conversancy with English literature, with ancient and modern history, with geography, and the rudiments of astronomy, with natural philosophy, chemistry and mathematics.' 'They were familiar,' says the Rev. James Johnston, 'with the historical works of Hume, Robertson and Gibbon; with the economic works of Adam Smith and Jeremy Bentham; with the philosophical works of Locke, Reid and Dugald Stewart; and with the poetry of Shakespeare, Milton, Dryden, Pope, Burns and Scott.'

*Dr Alex-
ander
Duff.*

Early in the year 1830 Dr Alexander Duff arrived in Calcutta as the missionary of the General Assembly of the Scotch Kirk. His instructions were to found a seminary in connection with that body, not in Calcutta, but somewhere inland. Acting on the advice of the venerable Carey and of Rammohun Roy and with the active assistance of the latter he ventured to disregard his commission and to open a school at Calcutta. Indifferent no less to missionary traditions than to home authority, he determined that in his school Christianity should be taught, not during a stolen hour or two in the week, but every day and in every class, and with unmistakable thoroughness. As the vehicle for conveying knowledge he chose the English language, as the subject the science and literature of Europe. The school was an eminent success. The absence of fees counterbalanced the necessity of studying the sacred Scriptures and dogmas of Christianity. Hazarding the chance of conversion the Hindus flocked thither in considerable numbers. The excellence of the teaching and the public examinations soon made the school favourably known, and this notoriety gave weight to the articles which Dr Duff contributed to the papers of the day on the celebrated controversy which we are about to narrate, and thus not improbably contributed to its final decision.

*The
Charter of
1833 and
the contro-
versy about
the em-
ployment
of English.*

In the year 1833 the funds at the disposal of the Committee were increased by Act of Parliament from £10,000 to £100,000 a year. From 1819 on the average more than twice the authorized amount had regularly been expended.

¹ The Rev. Lal Behari Day (*Recollections of Dr Duff*, pp. 44—5) was one of those whom this cause attracted into the school.

Still the addition was over £75,000 a year. How was it to be employed? The question aroused a great dissension in the Committee. One party was in favour of simply enlarging its previous operations and of continuing to spend money in oriental education. The other party resolved not only to prevent such an outlay, but actually to retrench the existing expenditure on Orientalia. In numbers the parties exactly balanced five against five: but in point of distinction the Orientalists were superior. The struggle was not decided until in 1835 a stouter champion entered the arena. Macaulay arrived in India in 1834. Being appointed President of the Committee, he declined to act until some decision was arrived at. Accordingly both parties, making a final effort, sent in to Government lengthy expositions of their opinions. As Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, Macaulay wrote on the 2nd of February 1835 his celebrated minute, which, endorsed at the time by the Governor-General Lord William Bentinck, was followed on the 7th of March by the proclamation which established the triumph of European studies in India. This verdict being the most important fact in the history of English Education in India, it will be necessary to inquire somewhat more closely into the merits of the controversy.

We have seen that the English found on their arrival in India two systems of education, a vernacular elementary, and a high education carried on through the medium of the sacred languages Arabic and Sanskrit. The Sanskrit—with which we are chiefly concerned—was as early as three centuries before the beginning of the Christian era the language of the upper classes only: it was not long before it became a sacred language. Embodying all the ideals and all the higher literature of the Hindus, it was the sole vehicle for religion, philosophy, science, and serious poetry. As often happens, the early Hindu ideals, immortalized by being committed to literature, and to the charge of priestly caste, continued to exercise a cramping influence on the free development of the native mind. Similarly the Sanskrit language, being the sole medium for all serious literary or

scientific efforts, cut off from the vernacular all the growth of idea and expression which would otherwise have enriched it. The Persian, which under the Muhammadans, was the sole language of business and of justice, tended in the same direction. When the English arrived in India, no one of the vernaculars possessed anything worthy to be called a literature, and no one was a possible medium for anything beyond the elements of knowledge. The early missionaries, with whom education was merely a necessary preliminary to conversion, were at first content with the vernacular: but even the earliest experienced from the poverty of the dialects which they were compelled to use extreme difficulty in producing intelligible translations of the Bible. Where any higher education was attempted the vehicle was almost invariably a foreign tongue, English. It was therefore open to the Government, when it determined on educational measures, to teach through the vernacular, through Sanskrit or Arabic, through English, or through any combination of these. We have seen what reasons of policy and benevolence dictated the foundation of oriental colleges at Benares and Calcutta, and projected others at Nudiya and Tirhut. We have seen that in the years 1814—1820 Government encouraged vernacular studies at Chinsurah and Ajmir. English learning had not yet been publicly patronized, and from the founding of the Committee of Public Instruction until the year 1833, while English classes were opened in the various colleges, Sanskrit and Arabic were most favoured. Let us inquire what it was that probably influenced the Committee's action.

In the first place, several of the members were themselves distinguished orientalists. They were likely to underestimate the difficulties and overestimate the advantages of their own special studies. The Committee of Public Instruction was a convenient appanage to the Asiatic Society. Secondly, the Act of 1813 provided for the revival and improvement of literature and for the encouragement of the learned natives of India, and this enactment had been confirmed by the letter of instructions sent by the Directors in 1814 ordering the promotion of Sanskrit studies and the

publication of Sanskrit books. The only learned natives with whom they were acquainted were, except in the fewest cases, learned in oriental matters, and it seemed just and fair to apply money derived from Hindus and Muhammadans to Hindu and Muhammadan studies. Thirdly, the nominal sum at the Committee's disposal was only £10,000, and out of this there were existing oriental colleges to be maintained. A small sum would go much further in studies where the teacher was content with 9 or 10 rupees a month and was a thorough master of his subject, than where it was necessary to spend 300 rupees a month on half-pay officers or other casual incompetents. Had the Committee proposed to support elementary vernacular teaching, they might have extended their operations still further. But it seemed that, where millions were to be improved, it was more politic to impart a high education to a few hundreds than the elements to a few thousands. Not only was the former course apparently intended by the Act and approved by the Directors, but the few vernacular schools which had been established were not favourably regarded by the court. 'With respect to the elementary schools,' they write, 'which were established in various parts of India previous to the appointment of the General Committee, we consider them of subordinate importance; instruction in reading and writing being already diffused among the inhabitants of most of the territories under your presidency.' To be brief: it was useless to give an elementary education through the vernacular: it was too expensive to teach European knowledge through English: it was impossible to teach European knowledge through the vernacular or immediately through the learned languages. The latter were copious and refined dialects, and it was possible through them to impart a body of knowledge considerable in extent and thoroughly well compacted. To this course the Committee were impelled by Act of Parliament, by instructions from the Directors, by precedent, and by their own inclinations.

This was the course they adopted. It was nevertheless as unjust in fact as it was à priori unreasonable to accuse these

eminent persons of not having considered the possibility of English education. They had watched the success of the Hindu College. Finding larger sums placed at their disposal than had been anticipated they in 1828 proposed to the Directors to establish colleges for teaching English. To these proposals a reply was sent on September 29, 1830 :

'You have transmitted to us several most interesting documents from the General Committee of Public Instruction and from the local Committee of the Delhi College on this question. Both the Committees give a decided preference to the plan of establishing separate colleges for the study of English and for the cultivation of European knowledge through the medium of the English language.....and that everything beyond the mere elements of European science is most advantageously taught through European language....By these arguments you have been convinced and you have accordingly authorized the establishment of an English college at Delhi and another at Benares...We fully concur with them in thinking it highly advisable to enable and encourage a large number of the natives to acquire a thorough knowledge of English : being convinced that the higher tone and better spirit of European literature can produce their full effect only on those who become familiar with them in the original language... On these grounds we concur with you in thinking it desirable that the English course of education should be kept separate from the course of oriental study at the native colleges, and should be attended for the most part by a different set of students. This however does not necessarily imply that the two courses of study should be prosecuted in two separate institutions. At the Agra College the Persian and the Hindu branches are perfectly distinct, and, though some of the students are attached to both departments, the greater number confine themselves to one or the other. If an English department were similarly attached to that college or to the college at Delhi, the English language and literature might be taught classically, and the sciences might be taught in English, notwithstanding that studies of another character were pursued within the same walls.'

The effect of this opinion was the formation of the before-mentioned English classes.

The action of the Committee from 1823 to 1835 was subjected to vehement reproaches at the time and has since been not seldom, if unconsciously, misrepresented. For this reason it has been dwelt upon at some length. It seems to the present writer that considering the small sums at its disposal the conduct of the Committee was not only justi-

fiable, but admirable. The only serious mistake of which they were guilty was the extensive publication of oriental works, and even that was justified by their original instructions. But the right employment for £10,000 was not necessarily the right employment for ten times that sum. The original £10,000 was given partly to provide native civil servants and to conciliate the natives, partly for the benefit of English scholars, only in part for education simply. The £100,000 was given for educational purposes alone. Herein lay the great mistake of the orientalist party. They did not perceive this essential distinction: and they were led on to believe that an oriental education was for the people of India *per se* superior to an English one.

The arguments on both sides may now be briefly summed up. On the one hand it was urged:—

1. That the Act of 1813 provided for the 'encouragement of the learned natives of India':

2. That the Government was pledged to keep up its oriental teaching:

3. That it was unjust to force the people of India to devote themselves to the language of a few foreigners, a language inferior in structure and devoid of the secret charm of association with the ancient literature and thought of their own land:

4. That a thorough Arabic or Sanskrit training was superior to a superficial acquaintance with English.

The weakness of this argument betrays the strength of the prejudice behind it. It was amply refuted by the opposing side. It was urged:—

1. That, even were it granted that by 'learned natives' were meant 'natives learned in orientalia' (and not, for instance, such persons as the famous Rammohun Roy), yet the Act went on to provide for the promotion of a knowledge of the Sciences:

2. That Government had never given a distinct pledge to maintain Sanskrit or Arabic studies. 'We found a

¹ The best exposition of the Orientalist case is contained in an article by Professor Wilson in the *Asiatic Journal*, for 1836.

sanatorium on a spot which we suppose to be healthy. Do we thereby pledge ourselves to keep a sanatorium there, if the result should not answer our expectation?' Further if there existed such a pledge, it had been improperly given and the Committee was bound to disregard it. 'Suppose that a Government had in the last century enacted in the most solemn manner that all its subjects should to the end of time be inoculated for the small-pox. Would that Government be bound to persist in the practice after Jenner's discovery?':

3. That the Hindus, excepting a few of the Brahman caste, were in favour, not of Sanskrit or Arabic, but of English education. This was proved by the success of the Hindu College and of the school belonging to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland conducted by Dr Duff. 'It is proved by the fact that we are forced to pay our Arabic and Sanskrit students, while those who learn English are willing to pay us.' It was proved by a then recent petition from several ex-students of the Sanskrit College, in which they stated that they had studied Sanskrit for 10 or 12 years, and that they had received certificates of proficiency: that nevertheless they were regarded with indifference by their countrymen, and had no prospect of a decent living except in the favour of the Committee:

4. That it was not, as was assumed, a question of a superficial knowledge of English versus a thorough knowledge of Sanskrit or Arabic. The latter were difficult languages and Professor Wilson's revised course lasted for 12 years, of which the first six were devoted to grammar alone. The English was an easy tongue, in which the Hindus, accomplished linguists, had already produced compositions which had excited the admiration of Englishmen:

5. That, finally, a larger view should be taken of the whole circumstances. A crisis in the history of India had arrived. The Hindus had thoroughly explored and exhausted their early acquired store of knowledge. For many centuries though their intellectual exercise, similar to that of the schoolmen, had sharpened, refined and strengthened their

minds, yet there had been no march. Now at last there was a stir abroad and a longing for new information which had brought European studies into request. Was it right to offer them stones when they asked for bread? to turn them back to the 'false history, false astronomy, false medicine, false metaphysics which attended their false religion,' when they were eager to explore the rich mine of European knowledge? It would be as if the English at the time of the Renaissance had been turned aside from their Italian, their Latin, their Greek to the Gothic of Ultilas and the Anglo-Saxon of Beowulf.

The minute by Macaulay, from which most of the above refutation is taken, has now taken rank as an English classic. Macaulay's estimate of Sanskrit literature it is not at this date necessary to combat. It will be set down chiefly to ignorance, partly to Macaulay's strong prejudices. But the minute remains a model of just and comprehensive reasoning. It settled the question so long debated. The minute was endorsed by Lord Bentinck, and on March the 7th its principle was embodied in a proclamation¹ containing the following resolutions: (1) that the chief aim of the educational policy should be to promote a knowledge of European literature and science: (2) that henceforth no more stipends should be conferred, they serving only to encourage obsolete studies, and that when any professor vacated his office the state of the class should be the test of the expediency of appointing a successor: but that all existing stipends should be maintained, and all the oriental colleges in existence at that time should be continued as long as the natives continued to avail themselves of them: (3) that the printing of oriental books should at once cease: (4) that the funds thus set free should be employed in promoting European studies, through the medium of the English language, and that the Committee should at once submit to Government a scheme for effecting this purpose.

The immediate effect of the proclamation was to put an end to the publication of oriental books, and to the granting

¹ The whole proclamation is given in the Appendix.

the pro- of stipends to students. Some however of the existing
clamation. stipends did not lapse until 1843. With the funds thus set at liberty six new schools were immediately opened and six more were added at the commencement of the following year. In 1835—6 there were 23 institutions all told under Government containing 3390 students, of whom 1818 were studying English, 218 Arabic and 473 Sanskrit. In 1838 the institutions numbered 38, the scholars over 6,000: fewer than in 1835 were occupied with Arabic and Sanskrit, the rest with English. In 1842—3, 51 schools and colleges contained 8203 scholars, consisting of 5132 studying English, 1819 Hindi, 1504 Urdu, 2718 Bengali, 288 other vernaculars, 426 Sanskrit, 572 Arabic, and 706 Persian. But before the year 1842 measures of considerable importance had been taken and a new controversy had arisen.

The changes brought about by Lord Bentinck's proclamation had been a great success. The colleges which under the stipendiary system had been 'regarded by all classes as charitable institutions' and were filled with the children of 'indigent persons,' were soon crowded with numbers of the upper and middle classes, prepared to pay, instead of being paid, for an English education. When the Hoogly College was opened in August 1836, 1200 names were enrolled on the first three days; an auxiliary school opened a short time later was immediately filled. The same phenomenon was visible in every direction. A great deal was doubtless due to a desire to learn the 'language of good appointments.' But there was more than this. There was an intellectual stir abroad. Men were eager not only to learn, but to teach. English schools were springing up on all sides. A feeling, strange to India, almost of fellowship between different castes had been for the moment aroused: and whereas the Sanskrit College had been almost entirely confined to Brahmans and even the Hindu College was open only to the higher castes, now 'Christian, Muhammadan and Hindu boys of every shade of colour and variety of descent might have been seen standing side by side in the same class, under the common inspiration of English

learning¹.' At the advice of a special committee 'the old medical institution and the Arabic and Sanskrit medical classes were abolished and an entirely new college was founded, in which the various branches of medical science cultivated in Europe are taught on the most approved European system².' A hospital was soon to be opened adjoining the college. In spite of immemorial prejudice Hindu boys of every caste were seen handling the dead body and often performing exceedingly neat dissections. In the report of the first year after 1835 the examiner wrote:—'In the first place I may remark generally that all the essays are extremely creditable—and I do not think that in Europe any class of chemical pupils would be found capable of passing a better examination for the time they have attended lectures.'

Such was the effect of substituting English for Sanskrit and Arabic. Nevertheless these languages, while under the circumstances not a suitable medium for general education in India, were capable of providing a fair literary and scientific training, were of paramount literary and philosophical importance, and possessed peculiar claims on the land where they had been so long studied. They contained the Sacred Hindu and Muhammadan systems of law and religion, and they were replete with associations with Indian daily life and thought. To this fact not a little of the abuse which had befallen them from missionary sources was, perhaps unconsciously, due. It was one of the worst faults of the Calcutta Madrasa that it was 'considered by the Moslems as the headquarters of their religion in Bengal,' of the Sanskrit language that it was the source of Vedism, of Vedāntism, of the obstructive authority of the Brahmans. The claims of the sacred languages were recognized by Lord Auckland in 1839. A minute of that year restored to oriental education the 25,000 or 30,000 rupees which were in course of transference therefrom. The measure professed to be one of expediency, not of right, and it had no effect on English education, which was to be specially provided for by Government. A further innovation was the institution of

Lord Auckland's minute restoring funds to Oriental education and founding scholarships.

¹ Trevelyan, p. 20.

² Trevelyan, p. 30.

scholarships in place of the abrogated stipends. They were to last four years, and to be in number sufficient to provide for one-fourth of the whole number of students. Half of them were to be attached to the oriental colleges. They differed from the stipends they supplanted, in that (1) they were gained by competition, (2) their retention was subject to the passing of a yearly examination. The measure, which was subjected to much abuse from Dr Puff and others, will not commend itself to those who consider a system of scholarships at all times, in England or in India, undesirable. But when we consider that India is a territory of few rich men, that the scholars were generally poor, and that education has there always been endowed we shall see reason to regard the innovation as a wise one.

Mr B. H. Hodgson, Mr W. Adam and the Vernaculars. It was said that Lord Bentinck's minute put to sleep one controversy only to arouse a second. This was the controversy between the vernacularists and the Anglicists. It was not decided until the year 1854. We have seen that missionary and charitable education was mainly vernacular, and that there existed, though in a discouraged condition, certain Government vernacular schools in Bengal. Under the Bombay Government education was up to this time mainly vernacular. The latter had thus claims which the Committee could not overlook. In their first annual report after Lord Bentinck's proclamation they found it necessary to explain their position on this point.

'We therefore conceive,' they wrote, 'that the phrases "European Literature and Science &c." are intended merely to secure the preference to European learning through the medium of the English language over oriental learning through the medium of the Sanskrit and Arabic languages, as regards the instruction of those natives who receive a learned education at our seminaries.—We conceive the formation of a vernacular literature to be the ultimate object to which all our efforts must be directed. A teacher of the vernacular languages is already attached to several of our seminaries, and we look to this plan soon becoming general.'

They proceed to advocate giving prizes for translation into the native languages. A few years later (in 1841) a

special preparatory school (Pāthsāla) for studying Bengali was appended to the Hindu College.

In the years 1835—1843 the eminent Sanskritist Mr B. H. Hodgson championed the vernaculars in the pages of the *Friend of India*. In his opinion the learned languages Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and now English had proved a curse to India. Mere words had been studied instead of things, and the tyranny of the learned class had been perpetuated by keeping all knowledge locked up in a sacred language. All the moral effects of knowledge applied to every-day life had been lost. The only remedy that remained was to found normal schools, to train up a body of teachers competent to impart European knowledge through native languages, both orally and by means of translated or original publications.

Mr Hodgson's scheme was not made public until the year 1843. Five years before a far-different scheme had seen the light. In 1838 Mr Adam published his last report on Indigenous education, and appended proposals for effecting extensive improvements. He was thoroughly impressed with the impossibility of making English a general medium for education. 'It is impossible,' he writes, 'to express the confirmed conviction I have acquired of the utter impracticability of the views of those who think that the English language should be the sole or chief means of conveying knowledge to the natives.' Mr Adam was convinced no less than were the Rev. Mr Thomason in 1814, Lord Moira in 1815¹, Lord Elphinstone in 1822 and 1830, the Court of Directors in 1825, and the Rev. Mr Bryce in 1828², that the only effective means of educating India was the promotion and improvement of the indigenous village schools. His scheme was simple but scarcely adequate. An increase of salary should be promised to any of the existing teachers who should pass certain examinations to be arranged by Government. Text-books of different grades should be drawn up, and the schoolmasters should in various ways, chiefly by gifts of books and

¹ Minute of 1815.

² *The General Assembly's Schools in India*, p. 112.

certificates, be induced to use them. In this way competition was to be aroused. The Government certificate would soon become a great recommendation and village authorities would be inclined to give the preference to certificated persons. Thus in a short time it was possible at an insignificant cost to bring a complete system of grades and standards into full working in a great number of native schools, and eventually to reduce all to one type.

The 'filtering-down' theory.

This scheme, the general lines of which were later carried out, Lord Auckland was in 1829 inclined to regard as premature. He was of the opinion, held generally at the time and in particular by Sir Charles Trevelyan, that the best policy was to 'push on the English studies, and thus create a highly educated class, who would in their turn spread the desire for knowledge to the classes beneath them. The poor man was as much the object of the Committee's solicitude as the rich: but while the means at its disposal were limited, it was the best course first to train up a class of teachers, translators, and authors. The other method had been tried in Bombay and might be continued there as an experiment; but in Bengal there could be no doubt as to which was preferable.

We have here the celebrated 'Filtering-Down Theory,' the necessary accompaniment of the teaching of English. In a country where learning had been for over 2000 years the jealously guarded property of a privileged class, and where Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian had been successively employed as engines of oppression it was proposed to create a fresh learned class: and it was hoped contrary to all precedent that this would serve as a system of channels for distributing instead of a dam for confining the waters of knowledge. This was expecting too much from the expansiveness of European knowledge. In a later chapter we shall discuss the position which the English language should hold in Indian education. For the present it will be sufficient to have indicated our coincidence in the main with the views of such men as Adam and Elphinstone.

Little now remains to be said concerning Government

education in Bengal during this period. In 1843 the Agra Presidency was established, a measure which involved a diminution of the number of schools and colleges under the authorities at Calcutta. The same year saw the creation of 'Councils of Education' in the three presidencies to take the place of the old 'Committees of Public Instruction.' The new body continued the traditional policy of proceeding with the establishment of Country or Zillah Schools, until in 1854 only two districts remained without them. The other branches of the 'Committee's' policy did not receive a proportionate amount of attention. Vernacular teachers were attached to the schools: but little further was done. In 1844 Lord Hardinge opened 101 vernacular schools in Bengal. Their character is shewn from the works studied in them, which included Bengali translations of 'An Introduction to Natural Philosophy,' 'Euclid,' 'Elements of Practical Geometry,' 'Trigonometry with Tables,' 'Elements of Political Economy,' 'History of India,' 'Hindustani Poetical Reader,' 'Principles of Government,' 'Principles of Government Revenue Law in Bengal,' 'Chambers' Educational Course.' There were, it will be seen, what we might call middle schools. Education had not yet 'filtered down' to the poorer classes. In 1850 only 58 of these schools survived, attended by about 2000 boys. And they continued to decline, the people finding no attraction in education without English.

Another measure of Lord Hardinge was the proclamation of 1844¹. Its object was to establish yearly examinations open to all comers, the results of which were to be made public. The list of those who passed was to assist Government in the selection of civil servants, a place in it being a guarantee of capacity. It was thus a sort of substitute for an university degree. The measure was intended, from 1837 when it was first suggested by the Committee, to be in part a recognition of the services to education of the private, mainly missionary, schools, and their students were expressly permitted to enter.

*Lord
Hard-
inge's pro-
clamation.*

¹ It is quoted entire in the Appendix.

The effects of the proclamation were very disproportionate to its intention. The missionaries, who had been expected to benefit by it, complained on various occasions and, in particular, through the mouth of Dr Duff before the Lords' Committee of 1853, that the examinations were unfairly conducted and that the set books were so selected as practically to exclude all but scholars in Government schools. They had therefore refrained from sending any of their students in. On the other hand Professor Wilson complained before the same Committee that the same reasons had excluded all scholars from the oriental colleges. The total result from the proclamation was insignificant. In nine years only ten certificated students had obtained offices under Government, and these of very inferior rank.

*The Agra
Govern-
ment.
Dr Ball-
lentyne.*

Meanwhile under the new Agra Government two notable experiments were being tried. Dr Ballentyne went out in 1846 as Professor at Benares College. He was impressed with the conviction that European knowledge could be effectually conveyed to the vernaculars only through the Sanskrit. He greatly deprecated the borrowing of English words to express ideas not already existing in the vernacular, for example *klārin gess* (Chlorine gas) and *Haidragen* (hydrogen); and he thought he saw his way to provide for the whole range of the sciences a technical terminology in which the words should be significant in Sanskrit and the modern languages. Dr Ballentyne has no doubt shewn that such a terminology could be prepared: but in doing so he has committed himself to not a few long compounds and cumbrous expressions, which must prove exceedingly awkward in practice. Nearly at the same time the Rev. K. M. Banarji was engaged on his 'Encyclopædia Bengalensis.' It is significant that in such a practical undertaking the writer takes just the opposite course to Dr Ballentyne. He observes in his preface¹:

'Scientific terms I borrow from the English when the Sanskrit fails to produce any, either ready made or capable of being easily invented. In geometry and algebra, however, I have scarcely experienced any

¹ Quoted in Cameron, p. 140.

difficulty in procuring terms, since the Sanskrit vocabulary is here very full. The *Lilavati*, the *Viganiṭa*, the *Golādhyāya* have supplied me with almost everything I wanted.'

But whatever be the merits of Dr Ballantyne's methods—and they will be discussed in a later chapter—he has not been successful in practice. In 1849 he had, in spite of scholarships specially provided, induced only 13 Brahmans at Benares to believe that there was anything worth knowing in the writings of a nation, whom, however prosperous in worldly affairs, their religion regarded as inferior to the lowest outcasts, the class lingered on until the year 1876. In the Government report of that year its abolition is accompanied with the following comment:—

'The results of a prolonged trial of nearly 30 years were most disappointing. Every student was the holder of a state scholarship, the withdrawal of which was tantamount to a cessation of attendance. The object of the department, viz. the production of a body of vernacular literature fitted to communicate in a familiar form the results of European research to the people of the country, was never attained.'

The other experiment referred to was of a different *Mr Thomason* nature, and met with a very different success. Mr Thomason, the earliest Governor of the North-West Provinces, and one of the greatest benefactors of India, was the son of the Rev. Mr Thomason, who in 1814 submitted to Lord Moira a wide scheme for vernacular education. The scheme was rejected. But its author's son lived to carry into effect in the North-West Provinces a very similar design. As early as 1845 he had sent round orders to the district officers to encourage the native village schools. His proposals were next year approved by the Directors. Two years were then spent in compiling full statistics concerning the state of native education in the Province. In 1849 a yearly expenditure of £50,000 was sanctioned. Operations began in 1850, and in 1853 the system was working in eight districts. The plan involved the establishment

(1) of a few country or *Zillah* schools. We may style them high schools. Two were in existence in 1852;

(2) of a superior (= middle) school at the headquarters of each *tahsil* or subdivision;

(3) of an inferior *halkabandi* or 'circle' school for circles of villages: each school to be situated in a central village, and no village in any circle to be more than one mile from the central school.

The course in the *tahsil* schools included reading and writing in the vernaculars (Hindustani and Hindi), native accounts and mensuration, with geography, history and geometry. The broad principles of morality were also inculcated. The *Halkabandi* or lower schools were less ambitious. As they were not intended to rival the indigenous schools, the fees were made higher than in these. With the exception of charges for inspection—there being one inspector for every two *tahsils*—and for prizes and examinations it was intended that the schools should be supported by local contributions; and for this purpose, in addition to the raising of the scale of fees, the significant innovation of a nominally voluntary local rate was adopted. It was imposed on the land and amounted to 1 per cent. on the assessment or about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross produce.

The scheme received from the first the warm approbation of Lord Dalhousie. Already in 1854 the schools existed in eight districts, and of the total number of state institutions then maintained in the North-West Provinces (897 schools, 23688 scholars) all but a few were the fruit of Mr Thomason's system. A large number were no doubt merely reconstructions of indigenous schools. But this is only one more proof of the Governor's great sagacity and power of seeing the means as well as the end.

Another of Mr Thomason's designs was the college for engineering opened at Rurki in 1840. It still flourishes.

The following table illustrates the numerical advance made by State Education in Northern India during this period:—

	1829		1840		1854—5	
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars
Lower Provinces of Bengal }	29*	3,000†	51‡	7,324	151‡	13,163
North-West Provinces }	897§	23,688
• Total	29	3,000	51	7,324	1,048	36,851

* Of these 18 were elementary schools, 14 at Chinsurah and 4 at Agmerc.

† An approximation.

‡ Chiefly high and middle schools.

§ Chiefly elementary schools.

Bombay.

The early history of state education in Bombay takes but little telling. The maintenance of charity schools appears to have been a part of the duty of the Company's chaplains, and for this purpose they occasionally received special allowances. Grants of land were made in 1826 to the American Missionary Society, which had settled in Bombay 12 years before. To the Society for the Promotion of the Education of the Poor was assigned a monthly dole of Rs5000, while the Native School-book Society and the Native Society of Concan commenced operations in 1823 with a yearly subsidy of Rs12,720. These three societies were in 1831 imparting a for the most part middle education to about 3,500 scholars. The Hindu College at Puna was opened in 1821 as a substitute for the yearly presents to Brahmans which it was the duty of the English, inherited from the Mahratta Government, to make. It was modelled on the Sanskrit College at Benares, and its 100 stipendiary scholars were engaged on the usual Hindu curriculum of study. The Rs15,250 yearly spent on the college was in 1825 increased by Rs960 in order to provide a class for the study of English. The only other schools in existence at this period were the Engineer Institute and a small school of medicine at Bombay, where European knowledge was conveyed by means of vernacular translations of standard English works.

The Honourable Mount-stuart Elphinstone.

The credit of having first conceived a wide plan of education for the Bombay territories rests with the Honourable Mount-stuart Elphinstone, the historian and one of the ablest rulers of India. Already in 1823 he saw more clearly than did any other for many a year what was the true educational policy, and his proposals formed the basis of operations in Bombay until 1854. The results of the inquiries into the state of indigenous education which he set on foot have already appeared in Chapter I. He, however, did not wait for the returns, but as early as 1823 submitted his proposals to the Directors.

The proper object of state education was in his opinion the improvement of the mode of teaching in the native schools: and the proper means of achieving this object were not so much direct interference as such encouragements as examinations, books and prizes. The reader will compare these suggestions with those of Mr Adam in 1838. But while only a secondary object, the teaching of English language and science was yet an important, nay, a necessary, appendix to the wider plan.

The main object was to be obtained through the agency of the Education Society. Government would endeavour to increase the number of the village schools and to raise the position and attainments of the masters, and for the latter object a normal school was to be established at the Presidency. But the general arrangements for examinations, prizes and certificates were to be left to the Education Society. To the district officers (collectors) was assigned the general superintendence of the schools.

Arrangement should be made for teaching English as a classical language and for translating English books on moral and physical science. These translations especially of works on arithmetic, geometry, mensuration and ethics could be best obtained by advertisement. The publication of Sanskrit books, which was proceeding very slowly, was to cease. As to the teaching of English; an English school might be opened at Bombay for clever sons of persons of the upper classes; the Sanskrit College at Puna should be placed under

an English master, and after a while united with an English branch soon to be added. Medicine was to be encouraged by offering prizes of considerable value for translations and original works.

The full development of this plan would require time. But some steps might be taken at once. Books might be printed and prizes, medals and the like prepared. The English School at Bombay could be started at once with an endowment of $\text{Rs. } 2500$ a year. The Medical Board would supply means for diffusing medical knowledge; and the native village vaccinators were likely to prove useful in forwarding education generally.

As to finance, it was probable that the education of the poor must in all stages of society fall largely on the State: not so that of the higher classes. The expense of the village schools was to be borne by the villages, but books, prizes, &c. and the press (where not realizing a profit) were to be chargeable to Government.

In their reply¹ to this minute the Directors express approval of Elphinstone's proposals and agree 'that the grand attention of Government should be in the first instance devoted to affording means to their subjects to acquire simply the elementary parts of literature, reading, writing, and arithmetic.' It is characteristic of letters written to the different Governors by the Directors that, while taken separately models of wisdom, they are not always consistent with each other. As regards the present instance, we have seen above how they expressly disapproved of elementary education under the Calcutta Government. An enemy might have suspected them of holding no fixed principle on the question.

The scheme being now sanctioned required carrying out. In 1828 an English school had been opened at Bombay, and an English branch attached to Puna College, while the authorities had in view the establishment of similar schools at each of the principal towns and stations, and finally, when an adequate number of teachers had been trained, of a com-

¹ Dated Sept. 21, 1825.

plete system of 'schools in all the large villages. In 1842 there were 120 Government vernacular schools with 7750 pupils, of whom 1357 were paying fees. The Government English schools numbered four, and contained 104 fee-paying and 70 free scholars.

*The
Anglicists.*

It must not however be imagined, that even thus imperfectly the scheme of Lord Elphinstone had been put into operation without controversy. Even the original minute had been accompanied by a protest from a prominent member of Council, Mr. Francis Warden. Like Macaulay and others later, he was of opinion that English education was the true policy, on which State effort should be almost entirely concentrated. It was useless and would be perhaps harmful to interfere with the village schools. Mr. Warden also proposed a regulation similar to that contained later in Lord Hardinge's proclamation of 1844. Lord Elphinstone left Bombay in 1827: but his opinion was championed by his successor and approved in several letters¹ by the Directors. Elphinstone's judicious combination of Vernacular and English was preferred to English alone.

*The El-
phinstone
Institu-
tion.*

Yet Mr. Warden had his triumph. Elphinstone's services had not escaped the eyes of the natives, and on his departure in 1827 they determined to commemorate them, by subscribing for a college to be called the Elphinstone Institution. And the education they proposed to give was chiefly English. There were to be professorships of the English language, and professorships of various arts and sciences, to be held in the first instance by Europeans, and afterwards by natives. Taken along with the Hindu College at Calcutta of similar origin, the plan shews convincingly what were the real desires of the prominent natives at this period. For no other educational object would it have been possible to collect subscriptions amounting to £22,500. A like sum was added by the Government, and thus no less than £45,000 was provided for the founding of that important institution. The final plan embraced:

- (1) A college department to which only holders of cer-

¹ Dated Sept. 21, 1825, and Ap. 16, 1828.

tain scholarships, 30 in number, were admitted, and where the studies included such subjects as 'Integral Calculus,' 'English Composition,' 'Physics,' 'Political Economy,' 'Logic' and 'Chemistry.'

(2) An English department, in which English and the Vernacular formed part of the ordinary curriculum of a middle school.

(3) A number of Vernacular schools, in which English was unknown.

Beside the Elphinstone Institution all other schools and colleges in Bombay during this period were of little importance. The most interesting of them was the above-mentioned School of Engineering at the Presidency, which provided a large number of civil servants for the company.

The rest of the history from 1840 to 1850 may be summed ^{From 1840} up in a few words. The Board of Education was created ^{to 1850.} in 1840 and in 1843 it became a Council of Education. The vernacular schools were, as we have seen, recognised by Lord Auckland in his minute of 1839, and they continued to hold the same position relative to the English schools. The chief champion of education during the period was Sir Erskine Perry. His principal measures were the opening of the Grant Medical College in 1845, the formation of a normal school at the Presidency in 1845, the appointing of professors of Botany and Chemistry at the Elphinstone Institute in 1846, the opening of five English and 43 vernacular schools, the amalgamation of the Sanskrit College and the English school at Puna. This last measure converted the Sanskrit College from a home of Hindu grammarians, logicians, and metaphysicians into a thoroughly efficient seminary with from 500 to 600 students.

The general statistics of education in 1850 were as follows:

	Schools	Scholars
Elphinstone Institution	1	916
Elphinstone Vernacular Schools	7	773
Grant Medical College	1	27
Government English Schools	7	756
Government Vernacular Schools	168	9,097
Puna Sanskrit College	1	283
Total	185	11,852

In addition to the above there were nearly 2,800 indigenous schools with about 80,000 pupils in a total population of some ten millions. The comparison of these figures shows clearly that in Bombay, as in Bengal, state education was a mere scratching of the earth. Even in the indigenous schools, à fortiori in the state schools, the agricultural classes and those beneath them were not yet touched. Nor indeed was it possible to reach them with such a sum as £20,000 a year. Moreover, Lord Elphinstone had made it a maxim of policy that the state should not, by associating itself either by scholarships or otherwise with a large number of members of the lower orders, bring itself into general contempt. To us it cannot but seem a hard saying that those who had been from time immemorial condemned from birth by religion and by circumstance to a life of ignorance and oppression should be shut out from their only chance of improving their condition.

Madras.

The statistics of Indigenous Education in Madras were quoted in Chapter I. The history of state projects, much more of state performance, is of the briefest. Immediately after the completion of the statistics in 1826, Sir Thomas Munro¹ propounded his scheme to the Directors. He proposed to establish in each collectorate (1) a higher Hindu and a higher Muhammadan school, (2) 1½ inferior schools, being on the average one to each tahsil or subdivision. For the 20 collectorates, there would thus be 40 collectorate or high schools and 300 tahsildar or middle schools. Thus Sir

*Sir
Thomas
Munro.*

¹ In a minute dated March 10, 1826.

Thomas was prepared to maintain no less than 340 high and middle schools, or as we should more correctly describe them 'classes,' at the trifling cost of £4,800 a year. A total yearly expenditure of £5,000, to be gradually appropriated, was authorized by the Court, and the scheme of study, which they approved for the higher schools, included English, Tamul, and Telugu, with Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, and perhaps Sanskrit and Arabic.

This wise scheme, which would have provided a sound education for about 7,000 children, has been detailed, inasmuch as a history of education is almost as much an account of projects as of accomplishment. But very little of it was ever carried out. A Committee of Public Instruction, appointed in 1826, professed its intention of immediately beginning operations. Its first measure was to gather a normal school at the Presidency, in which the Hindus should study the Vernacular and Sanskrit, the Musalmans Hindustani, Persian, and Arabic, physical science being added in both cases. Next year the normal class numbered 10! and 8 schools had been set up in the Presidency district. They contained 189 boys and are described as 'very efficient'!

It was Macaulay's minute and Lord Bentinck's proclamation of 1835 that prevented the execution of Munro's designs. *The Madras University.* Of a new scheme proposed in that year for the erection of four English schools, a normal class, and a college only the first item was sanctioned, and no portion was ever carried out. The old Committee of Public Instruction having given way in 1836 to a 'Committee of Native Education,' Lord Elphinstone, who had now returned to India, proposed next year that an university should be founded at Madras. It was to consist of (1) a College division for the study of literature, philosophy, and science, (2) a High School (to which only boys able to read and write English should be admitted). A preparatory school was founded in 1839 to pave the way. In 1841 this contained nearly 70 boys, and it was thought that the right moment had now arrived for carrying out some more items of Lord Elphinstone's plan. The main part thereof, variously styled the Madras University and the

Madras High School, was opened in 1841, and soon contained about 70 students, of whom 'the highest class' were receiving a very thorough English education. The question of an University was reopened in 1848 and four years more sufficed for the Committee to produce a report of the subject. The preparatory school, which had died, was to be reinstated. The 'high school' was to remain as it was, except that the fees were to be lowered. The College department was at last to see the light. Yet in 1854 it contained only 28 students, while the High School contained 220. At the same date there existed a number of primary schools with about 300 pupils, and two or three Provincial or High Schools opened in 1845. If we added to these a number of insignificant establishments such as a 'Female Orphan Asylum' and a 'Charity School at Angengo' we shall complete the scanty list of state institutions at this period¹. It should, however, be observed that state efforts were largely supplemented by those of the Missionaries, especially of the Church Missionary Society at Tinnevely. At the time of which we write there were no less than 30,000 children in missionary schools in the Madras territories, and of these 3,000 were learning English, that is, were receiving a secondary education.

Missionary and Charitable education.

In the year 1852—3 there were in the state schools a little over 28,000 Indian children receiving education. At the same time the Protestant Missionaries were teaching nearly 100,000². The two systems differed in other respects besides numbers. They differed very widely in character. The state schools were almost entirely secondary. The missionary schools to a large extent primary. 'The great majority of the children educated by the Missionaries,' said Sir Charles Trevelyan in 1852, 'receive only a limited ver-

¹ This paltry establishment was absorbing a yearly sum of about £8,000, of which about £2,800 was spent on the so-called 'University.'

² Memorial of C.M.S. in 1852, vide Parliamentary Reports for that year.

secular education.' The exact proportion of primary to secondary was about 100 to 15. It must not however be supposed that there was practically no secondary education, carried on by missionaries. Probably over 12,000 scholars were in their High Schools and Colleges, and some of the latter, such as the Serampore College, the Scottish General Assembly's schools at Bombay and Calcutta, and the School of the Free Kirk under Dr. Duff at Calcutta, were held in very high estimation. Secondly, while in Government schools there was no trace of female education, the missionaries were in charge of over 13,000 girls. The latter were of course largely orphans and belonged almost entirely to low castes. Thirdly, there was a distinct difference in the social position of the pupils so far as wealth was concerned. Fees were exacted in all the state schools, which was not the case in those maintained by the missionary societies. 'The only natives,' said Mr. Hodgson Pratt in 1857, 'who send their children to missionary schools are those who cannot afford to pay school-fees.' 'In 1822,' remarks the author of the *History of Christianity in India*, 'a change was made in the schools in consequence of the establishment of an English school by Government under the charge of the Chaplain at Palamcottah, from which Christian education was excluded. In consequence the English schools on the mission premises and in Tinnevely were closed, most of the pupils now manifesting a repugnance to continue the course of Christian education observed in them.'

The chief charitable non-missionary schools during this period were:

(1) La Martinière, a Christian unsectarian school at Calcutta and Lucknow, founded in 1830 from money left by Major-General Martin in 1800.

(2) The Parental Academy at Calcutta, founded in 1843, and enlarged in 1844 with the aid of money left by Mr. John Doveton. From 1855 it was called Doveton College.

(3) Deer's Charity Schools at Burdwan in Bengal were opened in 1823.

(4) Panchayyappa's Institution at Madras, maintained on the interest of property left by a Hindu gentleman in 1841.

The general character of the Secondary Schools during this period.

Like the Chinese the Hindus have great natural abilities. Sir Charles Trevelyan ascribes to them 'a German laboriousness joined to a Greek acuteness.' Sir Henry Maine considers that they have 'something like a genius for law.' The Rev. J. C. Marshman in 1852 held that they had 'a very remarkable talent for mathematics and metaphysics.'

Under these circumstances we are not surprised to find inspectors and reporters frequently challenging a comparison between the attainments of Hindu boys and of those in the best schools in England. We have often above given lists of the subjects studied at the various schools and colleges. A few words will now be added on the subject generally.

Concerning the education given in primary schools little need be said. Government primary schools existed only in Bombay and the North-West and were in number insignificant. There is no evidence to show that they were in any way different from primary schools elsewhere. The missionary schools were no doubt inferior in character and far more precarious. What we might call middle schools were represented by the Hardinge Schools in Bengal which had sunk from 101 in 1843 to 58 in 1850, and the tahsil schools which began during this period to be set up in the North-West. They were characterized by the use of the vernacular. The instruction given in them included history, geography, mensuration, accounts, and Euclid, to which the Hardinge Schools added the 'elements' of divers sciences. There was no trace of any scientific work involving manipulation. These schools, then, obviously correspond with some accuracy to what we in England name middle schools. High Education was represented by (1) the Bengal Colleges, the Madras 'University,' the Elphinstone Institution

(2) by the Zillah schools of Bengal and the North-West, and the seven Provincial schools in Bombay. In all these the education was chiefly literary and somewhat superficial. We do not mean that physical science and mathematics were not taught. On the contrary: the scheme for senior scholarships in Bengal included such subjects as Differential and Integral Calculus, Optics, and Hydrostatics¹; and the Elphinstone Institute, and the best missionary colleges included the same in their curriculum. Nor do we mean that an inconsiderable amount of knowledge was attained in the subjects studied. When in the department of *history*, Hume, Gibbon, Mill, and Thirlwall were read, in that of *philosophy*, Reid, Abercrombie, Browne, Stewart, Mill, and Whately, in *Political Economy*, Adam Smith, in *literature and the history of literature*, Milton, Bacon, Shakespeare and Hallam, and when *mathematics* included Laplace's *Mécanique Céleste*, it is evident that recognized authorities were not neglected. What we mean is that science was not practically taught, that in the other subjects while a fair amount was learnt there were no opportunities for original work nor was the education given of a kind likely to lead to original work, that the range of examination to which the same individuals were subjected was too wide to render it possible for details to be thoroughly known or to permit reading outside the set books. Thus we find—to take the most convenient example—that in Dr Duff's College in 1850 the students were examined in *Theology, Christian Evidences, Ancient History, Political Economy, Logic, Mental Philosophy, Algebra, Geometry, Trigonometry, Conic Sections, Statics, Optics, and Astronomy*. It is not necessary to suppose—indeed the facts contradict such a supposition—that the questions set at this college or in the Government colleges were always easy. But the papers have the air of having been set on lectures and books rather than on subjects.

The oriental colleges were too few to need any special mention. They were often grossly mismanaged. Though

¹ For lists of subjects for senior scholarships, vide Cameron 'Memorial' pp. 105 sqq.

English was not infrequently taught in them, the general curriculum was such as we have described early in the chapter. It seems to have possessed all the imperfections without the advantages of the native education which the pundits were wont gratuitously to impart to their small classes.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PERIOD 1854—1882.

IN 1853 the East India Company's charter expired. Fruitful as its periodical renewal in 1793, in 1813, in 1833 had been in benefits for the people of India, the year 1853 was looked forward to with more than ordinary misgivings by the Company and with more eager expectations by individuals, societies, and corporations connected with India.

We may be pardoned if we regard the question of education as the most important of all the subjects which were discussed before the Lords' Committee in 1852-3. Not a few petitions dealing with it had been presented to Parliament and evidence was taken from such authorities as Professor Wilson, Dr Duff, the Honourable George Norton, Sir Erskine Perry, the Rev. J. C. Marshman, Sir C. E. Trevelyan, and the Honourable C. H. Cameron.

It was not doubtful from the first what would be the main issues. In the first place there was the irritating subject of 'religious education,' an expression which we may regard as synonymous with the use of the Bible as a text-book. We have seen that Government had at first occupied towards the Missionaries a position of neutrality which was suspiciously armed. Later on some little had been done for Christianity. The fundamental Hindu law of heritage had been rescinded in favour of converts, a proceeding which must have seemed and did seem to the natives nothing less

than a monstrous injustice. Some provision had been made for Christian bishops and ministers, and the Bible was placed in every school and college library. But there was one principle which had been affirmed by almost every governor and prominent statesman from the beginning of the century, including such men as Lord Bentinck, Lord Auckland, Macaulay, and Trevelyan, that of in no way biasing the religious opinions of the students in state schools. The policy had been repeatedly confirmed by the Directors, and applications for grants to schools in which Christianity was taught, e.g. by Mr Fraser in 1814, and by the Rev. Mr Hough of Tinnevely in 1819, had been consistently refused, while a governor of Madras, Lord Tweeddale, having in 1846 attempted to break through the traditional policy, had been sharply brought up. It is scarcely necessary to say that the principle had not escaped criticism. In 1839 Dr Diff had denounced Lord Auckland's minute 'as remarkable above all for its education without religion, its plans without a Providence, its ethics without a God.' Such sentiments were repeatedly vented in the pages of Christian journals, nor were the Bishops of Calcutta and Madras in 1852 ashamed to declare that 'the Government educational system was a blot upon the honourable Company's courts, involving the most awful guilt before Almighty God.' One of the petitions to Parliament was from the Church Missionary Society, representing what the Society had done for education, and claiming aid for itself and the introduction of Christianity for the Government schools.

The second great question concerned the establishment of Universities. A proposal previously made for an University in Bengal had been negatived by the Directors. In 1852 the Hon. C. H. Cameron, a past president of the Council of Education in Bengal, presented a memorial to Parliament, in which among other topics he urged that native education was sufficiently advanced and the time was ripe for founding an University in each of the three Presidencies, at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. The third and greatest question was that of general elementary education,

contemplated by the Committee of Public Instruction at Calcutta over thirty years before.

The religion of the Hindus, by which we mean Brahmanism, was so bound up with errors in physical science, that any considerable amount of European knowledge, accepted frankly and without *arrière pensée*, led to disbelief. In many cases there was this frank acceptance, and the division of old ties, as we can readily believe Dr Duff, not infrequently led to the extremes of scepticism and moral weakness. The final issue was generally Deism. Now it was claimed that, whereas the state schools supplied nothing to replace the native principles of morals and religion, and led to disloyalty as well as other evil consequences, the Christian schools, even where conversion was not effected, fostered the universal principles of morality, and produced loyal citizens. It was replied that the loyalty of Christians and of those imbued with Christian feelings was in the face of the millions of fanatics who hated them not difficult to explain: that it was not true that the Government schools caused disloyalty; that, if they produced deists, the Christian colleges produced hypocrites; that—strange as it might seem—it was the Government Hindu College and not Dr Duff's school that made the most converts; that, even without special moral teaching, the English literature, replete with noble thoughts and Christian sentiments, was calculated to raise, and had raised the moral tone of the students and the community; that, finally, while there was no strong objection among the natives to the study of the Bible or its use in schools, yet after so many professions of neutrality in religion, the compulsory or even non-compulsory use in state institutions would be regarded in a country where Government was all-powerful as a direct attempt at conversion. It is but just to add that it was claimed by the Bible party that the books of the Hindu and Muhammadan religion were actually employed as text-books in the Government Oriental Colleges.

The charges of producing deism and hypocrisy we may perhaps at the present day disregard. Possibly true, they are certainly beside the mark. We shall refer to the matter

in a later chapter. For us the case is this:—The use of the Bible was demanded. Without it education was regarded by Dr Duff as an evil, by the Rev. W. Keane as not an evil, by Hindus and all unbiassed Englishmen and English authorities in India as an incalculable blessing. The highest educational authorities, Sir Erskine Perry, the Hon. George Norton, Sir C. E. Trevelyan foresaw a great exodus of all respectable natives from the schools, in case the use of the Bible was adopted. Under the circumstances can we wonder that Sir Charles Wood's despatch¹ strenuously reaffirms the policy of religious neutrality?

2. *Universities.*

Proposals had been made and rejected in 1845 for an University at Calcutta. A high school existed in Madras under the designation of the 'Madras University.' Not much evidence seems to have been taken on the founding of new Universities, but it formed an important element of the new scheme².

3. *Elementary education.*

The chief circumstances which brought the question of elementary education before the Committee were three in number. Mr Thomason's investigations had revealed an alarming decrease in the proportion of the native schools to the total population. His own system was proving a great success. Further, the operations of the missionaries had been chiefly directed to primary instruction. There were also indications that the higher classes were by this time not without the power to help themselves, and it was felt that education ought now to begin to 'filter down' to a lower stratum. The decisive moment was, no doubt, the great disproportion of the numbers of children in Government schools to those under the missionaries, and of the sum of these to the total population. It is noticeable that Dr Duff, himself long the director of a high school, was in opposition to the general body of missionaries on this point, and held that 'no good could be got from diffusing mere elementary instruction: the great thing was to teach a few, well, and *then*, use them to raise the condition of the many.' It was a pregnant question 'When?'

¹ Paragraph 84.

² Parr. 24—35.

It was agreed on all hands that the medium of elementary education should be the vernacular, of secondary education English.

The decision of the Committee to give a great extension to Government education involved the addition of a system of Grants-in-aid. The innovation was avowedly copied from the English system.

4. Grants-in-aid.

The general results of the evidence taken before the Lords' Committee in 1852-3 are compacted and formulated in the great charter of Indian education, Sir Charles Wood's despatch of 1854. On that despatch the whole of the immense system now in existence is based. Accordingly we shall at this point cease to follow the course of events as they occurred, and, having in the first place given a brief résumé of the despatches of 1854 and 1859, shall discuss the most important items of the present system in relation to those despatches. It is hoped in this way to present a clear view both of the whole and of the parts of the system. Narrative will thus give way to description but we shall be careful not to omit an account of the steps by which the complex educational machine now working was brought to perfection.

Results of the enquiry before the Lords' Committee.

The following abstracts of the despatches of 1854 and 1859 have the authority of official documents, being taken from the Report of the Education Commission of 1882.

'The Despatch of 1854 commends to the special attention of the Government of India the improvement and far wider extension of education, both English and vernacular, and prescribes as the means for the attainment of these objects; (1) the constitution of a separate department of the administration for education; (2) the institution of Universities at the presidency towns; (3) the establishment of institutions for training teachers for all classes of schools; (4) the maintenance of the existing Government colleges and high schools and the increase of their number where necessary¹; (5) the establishment of new middle schools; (6) increased attention to vernacular schools, indigenous or other, for elementary education; and (7) the introduction

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¹ For this phrase—at any rate so far as it concerns the colleges—I am unable to find any justification whatever in the despatch, v. par. 40. Is it the result of a compromise?

of a system of grants-in-aid. The attention of Government is specially directed to the importance of placing the means of acquiring useful and practical knowledge within reach of the great mass of the people. The English language is to be the medium of instruction in the higher branches and the vernacular in the lower. English is to be taught wherever there is a demand for it, but it is not to be substituted for the vernacular languages of the country. The system of grants-in-aid is to be based on the principle of perfect religious neutrality. Aid is to be given (so far as the requirements of each particular district as compared with other districts and the funds at the disposal of the Government may render it possible) to all schools imparting a good secular education, provided they are under adequate local management and are subject to Government inspection, and provided that fees, however small, are charged in them. Grants are to be for specific objects, and their amounts and continuance are to depend on the periodical reports of Government Inspectors. No Government colleges or schools are to be founded where a sufficient number of institutions exist capable, with the aid of Government, of meeting the local demand for education; but new schools and colleges are to be established and temporarily maintained where there is little or no prospect of adequate local support being made to meet local requirements. The discontinuance of any general system of education entirely provided by Government is anticipated with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid; but the progress of education is not to be checked in the slightest degree by the abandonment of a single school to probable decay. A comprehensive system of scholarships is to be instituted so as to connect lower schools with higher, and higher schools with colleges. Female education is to receive the frank and cordial support of Government. The principal officials in every district are required to aid in the extension of education; and in making appointments to posts in the service of Government, a person who has received a good education is to be preferred to one who has not. Even in lower situations a man who can read and write is, if equally eligible in other respects, to be preferred to one who cannot.'

*The
despatch
of 1859.*

'The second great despatch on education, that of 1859, reviews the progress, made under the earlier despatch, which it reiterates and confirms with a single exception as to the course to be adopted for promoting elementary education. While it records with satisfaction that the system of grants-in-aid has been freely accepted by private schools, both English and Anglo-vernacular, it notes that the native community have failed to co-operate with Government in promoting elementary vernacular education. The efforts of educational officers to obtain the necessary local support for the establishment of vernacular schools under the grant-in-aid system are, it points out, likely to create a prejudice against education, to render the Government unpopular,

and even to compromise its dignity. The soliciting of contributions from the people is declared inexpedient, and strong doubts are expressed as to the suitableness of the grant-in-aid system as hitherto in force for the supply of vernacular education to the masses of the population. Such vernacular instruction should, it is suggested, be provided by the direct instrumentality of the officers of Government, on the basis of some one of the plans already in operation for the improvement of indigenous schools or by any modification of those plans which may suit the circumstances of different Provinces. The expediency of imposing a special rate on the land for the provision of elementary education is also commended to the careful consideration of the Government.

Other important Despatches¹, the Report goes on to observe, have been received since 1859. 'But the despatches of 1854 and 1859 stand out from all later documents as the fundamental Codes on which Indian Education rests.'

The subjects to be treated in the present chapter are as follows: Revenue, Grants-in-Aid; Universities, Colleges, Secondary Education, Primary Education, Scholarships, Indigenous Schools, Missionary Education. The system to be described was the special work of this period and was not completed until its close. But in all essentials it was mapped out from the beginning and the plan was affected by scarcely a single innovation of importance. The changes which have been proceeding since 1882 will be left for the present out of sight and will form the subject of the following chapter.

Revenue.

The sums annually expended on Education are derived from Imperial Grants and Provincial Revenues, Local Cesses, Municipal Contributions, Fees and Fines, Subscriptions and Donations, and Contributions from Native States.

The Imperial Government has no direct connection with education, and except for the controlling and legislative powers of the Governor-General in Council the Provincial Governments are in this as in other respects practically

¹ We may mention those of 1864 and 1866, by Sir Charles Wood and Lord De Grey and Ripon respectively.

autonomous. Their revenues consist partly of local contributions, partly of an assigned proportion of the Imperial Revenue. The latter portion, the Provincial Grant, is given for no special purpose and its disposal rests entirely with provincial authorities. Hence that proportion of the expenditure on education which is set down to Imperial Grants and Provincial Revenues—a proportion which in 1882 was to the total in the ratio of 100 to 255—has for its immediate source, not the Imperial Grant, but the Provincial Revenue.

The Local Cesses are levied by the Provincial Governments. They were first instituted, as we saw, by Mr Thomason in the North-West Provinces as a nominally voluntary rate paid by the landowners, and the sums collected in one district were expended in the same. The character of the rate is by no means regular in the different provinces. In Bengal none exists, while in Assam the rate defrays almost all the expenses of education. Its introduction as a compulsory contribution dates from 1864 in Bombay, from 1871 in Madras and Coorg. It is nowhere a considerable burden, amounting in most provinces to 1 per cent. on the land revenue, or about $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the gross produce of the land. The proportion of expenditure from this source has varied very greatly. In 1882 it was inappreciable in Bengal, 18·20 per cent. in Madras, and 32·20 per cent. in the North-West Provinces.

The Municipal Contributions are to the towns what the local cesses, which are imposed on land only, are to the country. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total revenue is obtained in this manner.

The Contributions from Native States, and Fees and Fines explain themselves. Of the total sum which the latter item produces quite one half comes from Bengal.

Subscriptions and Donations comprise endowments, private subscriptions, and one half the cost of Missionary and other aided schools. Quite a large sum is realized in this way, being no less than 17 per cent. of the whole. It is largest in Bengal where native gentlemen liberally contribute. It

would be interesting to know what part comes from the purses of English subscribers to Missionary Societies.

For the sake of clearness we add a full statement of income from all sources in 1882.

	<i>Rupees.</i>
Government Grants and Provincial Revenues	73,92,680
Local rates and Cesses	27,52,567
Municipal Funds	4,57,436
Fees and Fines	43,92,664
Subscriptions	38,76,154
Total	188,71,501

Valuing the rupee at 1s. 7d.¹ of English money, the total amounts to about £1,500,000. In 1853 but a few pounds over £100,000 was spent on education; so that in thirty years the sums annually expended had been multiplied by fourteen. In the same period the Grants had increased in the ratio of one to ten. The rates were a complete innovation, and the fees had grown from almost nothing. The children under education had increased in number from 30,000 to 3,000,000.

Grants-in-Aid.

Grants-in-aid were one of the chief features of the despatch of 1854. The great extension of operations then contemplated and since carried out was not possible if the whole was to be conducted by Government. It was indeed hoped that a time might come 'when any general system of education entirely provided by Government might be discontinued, with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid, and when many of the existing Government institutions, especially those of the higher order, might be safely closed, or transferred to the management of local bodies under the control of, and aided by, the State.' The authors of the despatch did not expect that the system could be immediately applied to primary education, but no reason seemed to exist why secondary education should not at once

¹ At the close of 1882 the rupee was valued at rather more than 1s. 7d.

receive this encouragement. The grants were to be assigned irrespective of any religious teaching and for specified objects, such as augmentation of salaries of head teachers, provision of junior teachers, and foundation of scholarships.

Grants-in-aid, Rules.

Such were the instructions transmitted to India. Let us see how they were carried out. Rules for the distribution of the grant practically identical in all the provinces were published in 1855. The objects for which the grants were assigned were those mentioned above, and the conditions attached were what we might expect, the admission of Government inspectors and examiners, permission to examine books, accounts, and the like. The superior limit of the grant was to be half the total cost of the schools in question; but in the case of secondary schools the Bengal Government lowered the limit to one-fourth. As early as 1858 the application of the rules required revision: and again six years later Sir Charles Wood complained that in Bombay they were practically inoperative, while in Madras not only was the grant devoted solely to increasing salaries, but the unnecessarily high scale stipulated for these practically restricted the aid to secondary education. New rules were accordingly framed in 1865, and these continued in operation until the end of this period.

Systems of distribution of Grants.

The assignment of grants was so little uniform that no less than five systems were in operation. The *Salary-Grant* system, confined to Madras and applied only to secondary education, was one of the innovations contained in the new rules of 1865. On this system a fixed proportion of the total salaries paid in aided schools was discharged by Government: but the allowance was made only in the case of teachers who had passed certain examinations and the highest rate was assigned only where they had been students in normal schools or foreign universities. The system encouraged managers to provide good teachers, and promoted good feeling between the department and the managers of the aided schools, without involving the cramming for examinations which invariably attends payment by results. On the other hand it sometimes encouraged

fraud, nominally high salaries being set down in order to ensure a large grant from the State. *Payment-by-results* was customary in the case of primary education at Madras, and secondary at Bombay. The grant was assigned not simply for attendance, but under the condition that each scholar who earned a grant should pass the Government examinations. The disadvantages of the system were that the amount of aid was liable to vary from accidental causes, and that most help was given to those who could best help themselves. It had however the merits of securing energetic work and of preventing fraud. It was on the whole best suited for primary education. The *Combined* system, which ensured stability and supplied a motive for exertion on the teacher's part, was applied to a few schools under Local Boards in Madras. On the *Fixed-Period* system, prevalent in Bengal and almost the whole of Northern and Central India, an average grant was paid for periods of five years, and at the end of each period a new estimate was made. *Capitation* grants were allotted to a few girls' schools in Bengal.

It was in Bengal, the province in which the way had to be prepared, that the earliest impulse was given to aided education. In 1863, only eight years after the promulgation of the grant rules, 48,500 children out of a total of 70,000 in connection with the department were in assisted institutions. In 1881-2, at the close of the period, this number had increased to 920,000 or no less than 88·3 per cent. of the then total. The 8½ lakhs of rupees which the state expended on this education was attracting from other sources as much as 35 lakhs. The system was applied chiefly to primary schools, but about 60 per cent. of secondary, and nearly 33 per cent. of collegiate education was included in the above total. In Madras the Grant-in-aid rules remained practically inoperative until a final revision was made in 1868. From that time forward, however, the advance was fairly rapid, and in 1881-2 grants were paid for 200,000 scholars, consisting of 48 per cent. of those in colleges, 54 per cent. of those in high

and middle schools, and $56\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of those in elementary schools. On these about 5 lakhs were expended by the State, and nearly 15 lakhs from other sources. Aided education in Bombay, which practically dates from 1865, was during this period very inadequately represented, only 20,000 children, or scarcely 6 per cent. of the total number under the department, coming under the system. The statistics show that primary education was but little affected, and that so far the scheme had not been satisfactorily worked, though financially there was no room for complaint.

We see, then, that in respect of aided education the three most important provinces showed considerable difference. While in Bengal almost all primary education was aided, in Bombay nearly the whole was managed by the department, and while in Bombay and Madras instruction was given directly or indirectly to about the same number of children, the former had only 20,000 children in aided schools, the latter ten times that amount. Of the other provinces, the Central, and North-West, Provinces and the Panjab were in much the same position as Bombay, while in this as in other matters Assam was closely connected with Bengal. The results for all India were as follows:—1,150,000 children were in aided primary, 111,000 in aided secondary education, the former number representing nearly $57\frac{1}{2}$ per cent, the latter $53\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the total number of children under elementary and secondary instruction respectively: the total cost to the State was a little over 18 lakhs. In the same year 1881–2 over 67 lakhs were being expended on the education of 850,000 scholars in State schools and colleges.

We see the intentions of the despatch of 1854 carried out?

The growth of the total grant cannot be ascertained in any great detail. But there is a comparison which is of importance in connection with the later period. In 1870–1 the whole sum assigned in grants was $\text{R}14,01,155$; in 1881–2 it was $\text{R}18,50,484$. This represents an actual increase of over four lakhs, but in proportion to the total expenditure a decrease from 18.70 per cent. in 1870–1 to 18.17 per cent. in 1881–2. Now whatever may have been intended by the

despatch of 1854 such a decrease had not been contemplated. But further analysis is instructive. The immense increase in the number of aided primary schools during this period had involved an increase of grants from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. It follows then that there had been a decrease of four lakhs in some other direction. This decrease had chiefly affected secondary education, and had involved the extinction of many aided secondary schools, a loss which was not made up by a corresponding increase in departmental schools of the same class. Thus in the teeth of the despatches of 1854 and 1859 the departments had, while encouraging aided education of an elementary character, actually retarded the growth and in some cases reduced the extent of aided secondary education. Whether, as has been commonly asserted, this was due to rivalry between the departmental and the aided schools, is a different question.

On the whole the system of grants-in-aid had, wherever *Summary.* honestly worked, proved an immense success. On no other system could such a great extension of range have been effected in so short a time, and at so slight an expense. No other system could by the expenditure of $18\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs per annum have attracted to the cause of Education private contributions in a yearly amount falling not far short of 60 lakhs of rupees.

The Universities.

The despatch of 1854 sanctioned the founding of Universities at Calcutta, Bombay, and Madras. The model was to be the University of London; and the standard required for a degree was to be 'such as to command respect without discouraging the efforts of deserving students.' In the competition for honours 'care' was to be 'taken to maintain such a standard as will afford a guarantee for high ability and valuable attainments; the subjects for examination being so selected as to include the best portions of the different schemes of study pursued at the affiliated institutions.'

The three Universities were founded in the ordinary routine in 1857, the year of the mutiny. The first matricu-

lation examination at Calcutta was held in that year, at Bombay and Madras two years later. Two other universities have since been founded, the Panjab university formed in 1878-9 out of the Panjab University College, and the Allahabad university as recently as 1887.

The three older foundations are by far the most important. They are governed according to their original plan by a senate consisting of a chancellor, a vice-chancellor, and fellows. The governor of the province is ex-officio chancellor, and the office is rather for honour than for use. The executive is composed of the vice-chancellor and six members elected by the faculties. The latter are four in number, Arts, Medicine, Civil, Engineering, and Law. The fellows do not correspond to the idea we usually associate with the name. The office is an honorary one, and is usually conferred on distinguished men with little reference to their attainments in special studies.

Examinations and Degrees.

Like their model the three Universities are without a teaching staff and confine their attention to holding examinations and granting degrees. The first examination, which all students are required to pass, is matriculation. It is similar in character and about equal in requirements to the London Matriculation examination, and the average age for taking it is similarly between sixteen and eighteen. Except in Bombay the examination is held at various centres and entirely on paper. For the Calcutta University, whose students come from Bengal, the Central Provinces, Assam, and Burmah, the number of centres is as many as 40. The subjects of examination, which have varied but slightly since 1857, are as follows: (1) English, (2) a classical or vernacular language, (3) history, (4) geography, (5) mathematics, (6)—at Bombay and Madras only—elementary physical science.

For this examination about 14,000 students present themselves every year; but only about one-third succeed in passing. These, if they intend proceeding further, generally enter at one of the affiliated colleges. There they prepare for the *First Arts* examination. This is held at Bombay after one year from matriculation, at Calcutta and Madras after two.

The subjects are English, a classical language (oriental or European), history, mathematics, logic, elementary physical science. Two years later comes the B.A. examination. It has two branches, one in Science and one in Literature. In Literature the subjects are English, a classical language, mixed mathematics, and any two of the following—moral philosophy, history, advanced mathematics. The examination in Science consists of English, mixed mathematics, inorganic chemistry, physical geography with either physics, physiology, or geology. The standard is similar to that of the London B.A. examinations. The M.A. is an honour examination in language, mental and moral philosophy, mathematics or natural science. At Calcutta two or more subjects may be taken up in succeeding years: at Bombay and Madras the subjects are English and a classical language, or philosophy, together with history, and political economy.

The above represents the course in arts, which is naturally by far the most popular. Law, Civil Engineering, and Medicine stand on a different footing, and the examinations are open only to those who have passed the first two, in the case of Law the first three, examinations in arts. Of the three the Law attracts far the largest number of students, while Civil Engineering has an insignificant following.

The degrees which all the three Universities confer in these different faculties are those of Bachelor and Master of Arts, Licentiate, Bachelor, and Doctor of Medicine, and Licentiate, Bachelor, and Master of Civil Engineering, the last degree in Civil Engineering being granted only after four years' practice. In addition to the above the University of Bombay confers the degree of Bachelor of Science on those who pass the Science branch of the examination for the Baccalaureate of Arts.

The value of the degrees granted by the three Universities is fairly uniform, and we may leave the discussion of the slight differences that exist to the Directors of Education in the three provinces. It would seem that on the whole they denote much the same standard of attainments as do those conferred by the University of London. That

the standard is as high as the needs of the country require is proved by the large number of those who, content with passing the First Arts examination, omit to proceed to a degree.

*Position of
the Uni-
versities.*

Neither the Panjab University, which is a grant-in-aid institution, devoted mainly to oriental studies, nor the recently-formed University at Allahabad hold the same position in public estimation as do the older foundations. The latter by their examinations' control practically all the secondary education that goes on in India, and the affiliated colleges, which in 1857 were of very varying character, have by their influence been moulded into uniformity. The great aim of the young Hindu is to obtain a place in an University examination list, this being practically the sole public test of proficiency in liberal studies. His ultimate destination is for the most part either the public service or the bar. Out of the 3311 students who obtained degrees between 1871 and 1882, 1244 had in 1882 entered the public service, 684 the legal, 225 the medical, and 53 the civil engineering profession.

*Value of
the Uni-
versities.*

In estimating the value of the Universities we must not forget their original aim. They have not produced great scholars or scientists. We have not heard of many great discoveries made by Hindus who have benefited by their training. Very few pursue their course of study for the love of knowledge and apart from any desire to obtain lucrative appointments. Nor, again, have the wealthier classes been attracted. The majority of the students are sons of Government officials and members of the professions, while about one in ten belongs to the trading or commercial classes. In Bengal quite half the whole number are sons of persons with incomes between £20 and £200, sums which in England might correspond to £90 and £900. The great landed proprietors are scarcely represented. These are the results which the Universities have not effected. But they are results which they did not aim, and could not, constituted as they were, have aimed, at effecting. What the Universities have done is to consolidate the education going on throughout the

dominion, to provide examinations requiring a considerable amount of knowledge thoroughly assimilated, and to recognize its possession by a degree. If we look for a zeal for knowledge and a lifelong devotion to its acquisition, we shall have recourse, not to the alumni of the modern Universities, but to the few remaining representatives of the ancient Hindu learning, the pandits to whose mistaken devotion their sacred learning is the keystone of their religion.

Not the least among the merits of the Universities is that their cost to the State is only nominal. The sum of two lakhs of rupees which was set down to expenditure on the Universities for the year 1881-2 was practically all recovered by means of fees. Indeed the item 'profit on Universities' has sometimes appeared in the annual statements of receipts.

Cost of the Universities.

The General Classification of Teaching Institutions.

The schools and colleges connected with the departments are classified as follows:—

I. *University Education* is imparted in:—

(a) *First Class Colleges*, where the limit of study is the B.A. Examination.

(b) *Second Class Colleges*, where the limit of study is the F.A. Examination.

II. *Secondary Education* is imparted in:—

(a). *High Schools* up to the Matriculation standard.

(b) *Middle Schools* up to the Middle School Examination or slightly higher. Middle Schools are divided into those in which English is, and those in which English is not, taught.

III. *Primary Education* is imparted in:—

(a) *Upper Primary Schools*, which teach up to the Upper Primary Examination.

(b) *Lower Primary Schools*, which teach up to the Lower Primary Examination.

This classification is by no means perfectly carried out. The gradation is most complete in the case of Bengal.

The Colleges.

Statistics. In 1857, the year of the founding of the Universities there existed in India 22 Arts Colleges, and two colleges for Engineering and Medicine respectively. The latter were those of Rurki and Puna. The former consisted of 13 State-managed institutions¹ and of nine managed by missionary societies, among which we may mention the colleges of the General Assembly at Calcutta and Madras, of the Free Kirk at Calcutta, and of the Baptist Mission at Serampur.

In the twenty-five years which intervened between 1857 and 1882 the total number of colleges increased to 59, and these in the year last mentioned contained about 5,400 students, of whom nearly 2,000 were attending 20 aided colleges, 700 were attending nine unaided but inspected colleges, and 2,700 were attending 30 'State-managed colleges.

*Origin
of the
Colleges.*

The manner in which the number of colleges increases is not uninteresting. It does not often occur that a new college springs suddenly up as a new creation. For the most part they arise from High Schools. A High School, finding itself successful in passing its scholars through the matriculation examination, begins to form a college class. After a time it is affiliated to an university, taking rank first as a second-class, later as a first-class, college. Not seldom the college ends by overshadowing the school out of which it grew. This kind of development is a testimony to the extent to which education in India has been fitted to a single and organic system; but it is not the only method by which Colleges came into existence, and some of the most interesting arose in a different manner. Thus the Canning College at Lucknow was founded in 1864 by the landowners of Oudh in gratitude for generous treatment at the close of the mutiny, and the Muhâmmadan College at Aligarh, established in 1881, owed its origin to the influence and liberality

¹ Including among others the Sanskrit College of Calcutta, the Hindu College transformed in 1855 into Presidency College, the Elphinstone Institution at Bombay, and the 'Madras University.'

of a distinguished Muhamnadan statesman, Sir Syad Ahmad Khan.

The colleges represent the teaching part of the Universities. Their position corresponds¹ accurately to that of the University Colleges in relation to the University of London. In character also they are on a par with these institutions. Except in the Panjab, there is no provision for boarding students. The plan of studies is, of course, conditioned by the University examinations: though there are probably few colleges where all the subjects for the different branches of the B.A. course, including nine or ten languages, Mathematics, and fifteen or sixteen Sciences, in which papers are annually set. The status and aims of the students are such as have been described under the head of Universities, the Professors, largely recruited from England, are also inspectors, and a gentleman may be one year lecturing at Presidency College, Calcutta, and the next examining schools in some remote district of Orissa.

The estimation in which the colleges are held is great. Private study is discouraged, and it is considered desirable that undergraduates should not only possess the intellectual qualifications for passing examinations, but should have also received the stamp which the colleges are supposed to impress. Against the Government colleges a great outcry began during this period to be raised; it was asserted that the professors often deliberately encouraged scepticism, that moral teaching was entirely absent and that an unfavourable effect both on the loyalty and the morality of the students was a common result. The charge, the source of which will at once suggest itself, was without foundation. The disloyalty and scepticism so prevalent among educated Hindus should be set down to more general causes, to be mentioned later. Evidence was given before the Commission of 1882-3 to show that the colleges and universities had undoubtedly tended to raise the moral tone of the community, that the native Bench and Bar, once the opprobrium of educated

¹ Except as regards the formality of affiliation which does not exist in the case of the London University.

India, had acquired a deserved reputation not only for ability, but for trustworthiness, and that the public service was distinguished for intelligence, industry, and integrity. To reproach the Government colleges for the imputed disloyalty of the Bengali Babu argues a singular want of appreciation of the position of the English in India. The British Government is undoubtedly wise and just. But we are apt to forget that it is after all a foreign Government.

Finance. The only direct charge on the students attached to the colleges is for fees, which, in unaided colleges vary between Rs 5 and Rs 1, in aided colleges between Rs 8 and Rs 1, and in State colleges between Rs 12 and Rs 2, the highest of which sums has been held to correspond to a tuition fee of £100 per annum¹ in England. High as these fees would seem to be, they do not supply more than about one-quarter of the total expenditure on colleges, the remainder being derived from endowments and grants. It appears that, although in examinations the State colleges are more successful than aided colleges in the ratio of 22 to 19, yet this superiority is more than counterbalanced by a relatively much greater expense: a strong argument in favour of the application of the grant-in-aid system to colleges.

Secondary Education.

Statistics. The discussion of secondary education will be best commenced by a few statistics.

In 1854-5 there were altogether, exclusive of an uncertain number of 'tahsili' schools in the North-West Provinces, 107 schools for what may be called secondary education. Of these 73 belonged to Bengal, being 47 Government Anglo-Vernacular or Zillah schools and 26 'Hardinge' vernacular schools, the remnant of the 101 set up by Lord Hardinge in 1844. In 1870-1, sixteen years later, the numbers had

¹ Sir Roper Lethbridge, *High Education in India*, p. 107. The opinion is quoted as that of Sir George Campbell.

immensely increased, and there existed 85 departmental, 138 aided, and three unaided High Schools, along with 607 departmental, 1782 aided, and 65 unaided middle schools. At the close of the period, in 1881-2, the numbers were 116 departmental, 174 aided, and 88 unaided High Schools, together with 719 departmental, 1576 aided, and 572 unaided middle schools. The total number of scholars was in 1870-1, 204,294, and in 1881-2, 214,077. It should be observed on the one hand that the increase during this period of eleven years was greater than the statistics show, since the former number contains some children in receipt of elementary education, and on the other hand that both totals are for similar reasons rather too favourable, and that the true total for 1881-2 would be nearer 150,000 than 215,000.

Our terms, however, need a stricter definition. Prior to 1854 no provision had been made for what we call *a* practical education, and at all the Government schools variously styled 'Zillah' and 'Anglo-Vernacular,'—with the exception of the 'Hardinge' foundation—the instruction was of a purely literary and scientific character. The despatch of 1854 (§ 41), while stipulating for the extension of Government education, lays down expressly that the main design for conveying 'useful and practical knowledge suited to every condition of life to the great mass of the people' includes not only elementary education, but also such as was conveyed in the Zillah schools of Bengal, the Anglo-Vernacular schools of Bombay, together with the inferior class of Tahsil schools in the North-West and the Government Vernacular schools in Bombay. The distinction between the inferior and the superior schools lay in the fact that in the former the Vernacular, in the latter English, was the chief medium of instruction. But the authors of the despatch were unwilling to maintain the 'broad line of separation' between English and Vernacular schools, and they thought it desirable to group them together. The two classes of institutions mentioned correspond to what are now termed *High* and *Middle* schools respectively, which in agreement with

the intentions of the despatch are united under a single heading as 'secondary schools.'

The *High* schools, owing to their close connection with the Universities and University examinations, reach a fairly uniform level. The highest standard attained is that of the University matriculation examination, which is passed at from sixteen to eighteen years of age. As to the inferior limit of education in high schools considerable variety prevailed during this period. In Madras, the North-West Provinces, and the Panjab the high schools contained only the two highest standards. In Bombay they embraced four, thus overlapping the middle schools, while in Bengal every high school was also a middle and an elementary school. The universal characteristic of high schools was that they carried education two years beyond the inferior grade.

The *Middle* schools are of two different kinds. Either they are closely connected with the high schools, or they are complete in themselves. The latter case is the more common: for, though the two classes of schools are brought under the single heading of *secondary* schools, it is here that the great break is found. Students who propose proceeding to the University do not generally follow the middle school course to its completion, but pass at an earlier age into the high schools, so that those who receive the highest education given in middle schools seldom proceed further. The instruction extends in Madras, the North-West Provinces and the Panjab over three standards immediately below the high schools, in Bombay over three, two of which are parallel to the two lowest of the four high school standards, while in Bengal there are seven standards against nine in high schools.

Middle schools are divisible into those where English is, and those where it is not, taught. In none of them is it, as in high schools and colleges, the *medium* of education. Except in the Panjab, where there are even high schools which employ the vernacular, English is taught in a great and increasing majority of institutions. The highest standard of education in the schools of both divisions is represented

by the Middle School Examination, passed by children of the average age of fourteen, and generally including English (dictation, translation, and grammar), a vernacular language, a classical language such as Sanskrit or Persian, arithmetic, elementary algebra, and a book or two of Euclid, along with geography, history, and the elements of some physical science, such as physical geography, sanitation, chemistry, botany, or chemical physics.

Secondary schools absorb about one-fourth of the total *Cost*. expenditure on education, but of this sum over one-third consists of fees, and a further amount must be set down to endowments. The Government schools were far more costly, and not proportionately more successful than those classed as Aided and Unaided.

Primary Schools.

In the years 1854-6 there were handed over to the new *Statistics*. Departments of Education (1) from the Board of Education at Calcutta 13,000 pupils, (2) from the Government of the North-West Provinces 24,000 pupils, (3) from the Board of Education at Bombay 21,400 pupils, (4) from the Board of Education at Madras 4,500 pupils. Out of these totals it is probable that scarcely any in Bengal, a few hundreds in one district of Madras, about 19,000 in Bombay, and about 17,000 in the North-West Provinces, in all between 36,000 and 37,000 in the whole of India, were receiving a strictly elementary education. In missionary schools a similar instruction was being imparted to a little over 70,000 children. Twenty-seven years later, in 1881-2, the elements were being taught in 13,637 State schools to 663,915 children, in 57,841 aided schools to 1,141,844 children, in 11,938 unaided schools to 255,782 children, in 83,416 public elementary schools of all descriptions to a total of over two millions of scholars.

This enormous increase has been effected by methods *Develop-* varying in the different provinces. These methods will now *ment.* be briefly sketched.

Bengal.

It was in Bengal that attention was in this period first turned to primary education. In the year 1855 Mr Woodrow, the then director of education, propounded a plan, similar to those previously conceived by Munro, Elphinstone, and Adam, for providing schools for the masses by improving the indigenous village classes. His scheme, sanctioned by the supreme Government in 1857, proposed to form the native schools into circles, to select an intelligent native teacher and appoint him to visit the schools in the 'circle,' to suggest improvements, to represent the Government authority, and to be the medium for conveying prizes, books, and other encouragements to be supplied. The mode of operation will be clear from the extract which follows:—

'A good locality for a circle is fixed upon. If there is a bonâ fide gufu (schoolmaster) there, he is persuaded to admit the circle pundit; and then by his and other assistance two or more schools are established in neighbouring villages at the expense of the villagers, and placed under the care of young and intelligent men, who have received some education and are capable of improving themselves with the assistance of the circle pundit. If there are no schools, the villagers are promised a pundit if they open schools attended by 120 pupils and taught by men nominated by the deputy inspector, and, as a suitable locality is fixed upon in the first instance—one too in which there is no chance of an aided school—there is generally little, if any, difficulty. Where there has been a guru of the old school, it generally occurs that within a short time he finds the work tedious and competition hopeless and betakes himself to some other occupation.'

The despatch of 1859 condemned the system of grants as applied to primary education, and some correspondence took place between the supreme Government and that of Bengal, the latter maintaining that on any other system it was perfectly impossible to provide primary schools for the vast population which was to be dealt with. Nevertheless the *circle* system was killed by Lord Stanley's despatch. Its successor, the *normal school* system, was devised by Sir Peter Grant in 1860, and with some modifications began to be worked in 1862–3. Its prominent features were training schools and village compacts. Government normal schools

¹ Quoted in Mr Howell's Report for 1866–7.

were provided. Where schools existed in villages, the local authorities were persuaded to send the teacher to the training school for a year, binding themselves to receive him back as a schoolmaster, and to subscribe for his maintenance, the Government on its side pledging itself to pay a salary to every master who should have obtained a certificate, and the individual in question promising his services in return for the stipulated considerations. On the other hand where no schools existed, the villagers were persuaded to set one up on similar terms.

The success of the *normal school* system was moderate. In 1871 nearly 2500 schools had been provided with teachers, and these schools were attended by not quite 70,000 scholars. If we add all the children receiving elementary education in higher schools, the total is increased to about 133,000.

Among the immense population of Bengal these numbers may be described as insignificant. So they seemed in 1872 to Sir George Campbell, who, despite the odium which such a measure involved, declared in that year that the promotion of primary education would be the chief object of his administration. To this object he assigned a yearly sum of four lakhs of rupees, and whereas there had been in the past a tendency for aided schools to raise their standards and approach more nearly the character of middle schools, thus ceasing to benefit the masses, Sir George Campbell determined to encourage just the most elementary parts of learning, reading, writing, and arithmetic, and he anticipated more real and permanent advance from this policy, than by too rapidly raising the level of lower instruction. The chief features of the plan were normal schools, and yearly examinations on the results of which grants were assigned. The system was exceedingly economical and in 1876 was providing in part for the education of 360,000 children at a cost of about $3\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs of rupees. A year later it received under Sir Richard Temple a fresh impulse, so that the sphere of operations continued rapidly extending until the end of the period. In 1881-2 the numbers in the schools had increased to

836,000, while the expenditure had not reached $5\frac{1}{3}$ lakhs per annum.

The above schemes have this feature in common that they seek their end by the encouragement of the indigenous schools. In this respect Bengal was followed by Assam and the Central Provinces, and in part by Madras. In other provinces, in the North-West, in the Panjab, in Madras, and in Bombay the problem of general education has been solved by the imposition of local rates and cesses. These have been mentioned above under the head of finance: but from their close connection with primary education, it will be necessary to give further details in this place.

*The North-
West
Provinces.*

We have seen in the preceding chapter how Mr Thomason established in the North-West Provinces a system of middle (tahsil) and primary (halkabandi) schools maintained in part by Government, and in part by a nominally voluntary local rate. District committees were appointed to suggest the manner in which the yearly expenditure should be applied, to form estimates, and to keep the Government in touch with all that was going on. Though down to the end of this period these committees contained a large official element, their powers were small, and all moneys passed through the hands of the central Government before reaching them. In 1859 after the mutiny a new settlement was made, and in the North-West Provinces the nominally voluntary rate was included in it as part of the ordinary State demand from the landowner. The same system long prevailed in the Panjab and the Central Provinces, portions of which originally pertained to the Agra Government. In these provinces the general tendency has been to replace the indigenous schools, instead of absorbing them; and departmental schools have prevailed over aided schools. Thus in 1881-2, 95.1 per cent. in the North-West Provinces, 84.8 per cent. in the Panjab, and 66.3 per cent. in the Central Provinces, of primary schools were of the class 'departmental.' These figures forcibly contrast with the 91.5 per cent. of *aided* primary schools in Bengal.

Madras.

Under the Madras Government attention was not turned

to primary education until the year 1863. Previous to that year only a number¹ of village schools were loosely connected with the department by occasional gifts and presents. But in 1863 a local act for imposing a voluntary rate was applied to the Godavery district, where in 1865 some 79 schools were in existence. The system was not further extended, it having been found that, while it was not difficult to induce the people to agree to a voluntary rate, it was impossible to make them keep it up. This fact joined to the incapacity and obstructiveness of the native local committees caused the voluntary rate to be dropped, and primary education was held to be sufficiently cared for by the partial support of a few missionary and indigenous schools². The revision of the grants-in-aid rules in 1868 and the introduction of the plan of payment-by-results together with the reimposition of the one per cent. rate in the same year gave a new and effectual start to elementary schools, and in 1871 there were already 90,000 children in the State schools, and 70,000 under private management. The rate being in that year finally sanctioned and made law, provisions were made for guiding its distribution. District committees were created with power to accept or modify the inspectors' estimates of expenditure, to determine the amount to be spent on education, to pay grants, and theoretically to fix the standards of fees and course of instruction. Under this direction the close of the period saw over 360,000 children in receipt of the elements of knowledge, 87 per cent. of the number being in aided schools. The latter were largely developed out of the native village classes, and not only had they themselves undergone great improvement, but competition had communicated a part of this improvement even to such indigenous schools as were yet unattached.

As early as 1864 Bombay was congratulating itself on *Bombay*. having solved the problem of primary education. In the years immediately preceding the formation of the department the previous board had been paying some attention

¹ About 100.

² About 750 schools with 14,600 scholars.

to the subject, and in 1855 about 18,000 children were benefiting by their labours. Their method was known as 'the partially self-supporting' system. Books and instruction were provided by the State, while the natives supplied a building. Between 1854 and 1856 over 200 schools were opened on this system. But further proceedings were stopped by the supreme Government in 1856, and the next two years were spent in organising the existing schools, in fixing fees, and providing school books. The removal of the State prohibition in 1858 enabled the Bombay Government by a redistribution of its expenditure to devote more attention to primary education, so that in 1864-5 there were over 60,000 scholars in their schools.

• The local cess was introduced in 1864. It was stipulated that from the first a fixed portion should be devoted to primary education: and, though a considerable sum was unwarrantably diverted to the support of high and middle schools, yet in the course of a year there was an addition of about 230 primary schools with 24,000 pupils. These numbers had increased by 1881-2 to 5,350 schools and 333,000 pupils. But while in Madras 51·2 per cent. were in aided and 40·1 in unaided schools, in Bombay 71·4 per cent. of the whole number were under the department. The management was almost entirely in the hands of local boards, and the whole of a fixed proportion of the cess was through them devoted to primary education.

Summary. It would be useless and perhaps confusing to give details, which have no special interest, concerning the smaller governments. We see that the methods employed are, speaking generally, two in number, of which the former, followed in Bengal and Assam, aimed at bringing the indigenous schools into more or less loose connection with the department, while the latter, prevailing in the remaining provinces, involved a system of rates and cesses. Under the former method there was little place for local management: but of the latter the local boards were an essential feature, though their powers varied considerably, being greatest in Bombay, and very inconsiderable under the northern Govern-

ments. The expenditure was devoted in Bombay and the north chiefly to departmental schools, in Madras chiefly to assisting private effort.

Diverse as was the organisation of primary schools in the different provinces, the standards of instruction were perhaps equally diverse. An attempt made in 1879 to introduce greater uniformity failed, nor was it to be expected that under such varying conditions any rigid standard could be aimed at. In Bengal there are two distinct systems of elementary teaching existing side by side, in the improved indigenous schools under the department, and in the lower parts of high and middle schools. They are intended for different classes and vary widely in range. Thus in the former class of schools English is in no case taught, while in the latter it is generally attempted in the third standard. In Madras, the Central Provinces, the North-West Provinces, and the Panjab, the instruction does not go beyond the *Upper Primary* examination, and all further education is carried on in schools of a higher grade. But in Bombay, as we had occasion to state above, the different classes of schools overlap and the course in primary schools may extend two years beyond the inferior limit of middle school teaching.

There are everywhere two examinations, named the *Lower Primary* and the *Upper Primary*, generally passed by scholars of three and five years' standing. They represent a varying level in different provinces, but in general the former involves reading at sight, writing, the first four rules of arithmetic, to which each of the provinces adds a variety of necessary or optional subjects such as history, geography, elementary physics, and sanitation.

But beside these examinations everywhere held, each province has one, or more, of less importance peculiar to itself. Of these the most noteworthy is the final examination in primary schools in Bombay, which is passed two years later than the upper primary and demands a considerably wider range of reading.

We ought not to leave the subject without mentioning that the examinations were up to the end of the period not

always compulsory, and that in 1881-2 scarcely one-fifth of the total number of scholars were presented for examination. This was however a natural consequence of the rapidity with which primary education had spread.

Expense. Of the total expenditure on elementary education, which in 1881-2 was nearly 80 lakhs, nearly one-third was derived from rates, and about one-fourth from fees. Thirty-three lakhs went to maintain departmental, thirty-six and a half lakhs to maintain aided, schools. But both the total cost and the cost to the State of the scholars in its own schools were proportionally greater than the corresponding amounts for aided schools, and the excess in question was not justified by anything like a correspondingly greater success in the annual examinations.

Indigenous Schools.

The enormous expansion of European education just described cannot but suggest a question as to what had become of the native schools. We estimated that in 1820, when the English system was but a drop in the ocean, about one in ten Hindu boys of the school age was receiving instruction in schools of native origin and management. If that proportion were still maintained, there would in 1881-2 have been out of 254 millions of people in India (on Sir Thomas Munro's rough calculation) 1,409,000 boys receiving the same training. The State inquiry conducted in that year revealed as the actual number 350,000, or just one-fourth of what we should have anticipated. And, though we cannot regard this total as complete, it is evident how largely native education had suffered from the State competition, and that what was originally far the more extensive system had now taken the second place.

But what had become of the missing schools? They had disappeared in two different ways, by absorption and by extinction. In Bengal, Madras, Assam, and the Central Provinces, where in a few years an immense growth of primary schools had been erected on the basis of ancient

native classes, the latter may be said still to exist in a changed form, and this policy of absorption had left but a comparatively small part of the native system untouched, so that only 60,000 children in Bengal, and 55,000 in Madras still remained outside the department. In the other provinces, where the opposite policy was followed, the comparatively larger number of native schools represents, not a part, but the whole of what has survived. In the North-West Mr Thomason's Tahsil and Halkabandi schools were not intended to rival the indigenous classes. But it was not long before the work of destruction began and the director had frequent occasion for jubilation over the closing of now 600 and now 700 of these in the course of a year. The remainder contained in 1881-2 about 70,000 children. A similar procedure in Bombay and the Panjab had left 79,000 and 86,000 scholars in 4,000 and 6,400 schools respectively.

If now we ask in what respects the new schools differed from those they had supplanted, the first difference that will suggest itself is in point of permanence. The indigenous classes possessed indeed that tenacity which is peculiar to thoroughly localized institutions, but, though seldom permanently destroyed, they were liable to constant interruption by war or anarchy. Secondly, the modern 'School' is better managed, being always liable to inspection, and better taught, since the teacher now holds a more responsible position, and the curriculum covers a far wider range, than before. Thirdly, the externals have been improved. Many of the 'Schools' are in some parts of India still taught in cattle-sheds and under trees. But, generally, it is probable that, even where they have not been otherwise much improved, they are considerably better housed. On the other hand, there has probably been little change in the class of children who attend them. Though the exclusion of even low-castes and out-castes is now removed, we do not need to be told that, where only one-tenth of the total number of children is under instruction, it is the lower classes which are not represented.

It will be remembered that beside the elementary classes

the native system embraced a number of institutions which deserved the name of 'schools of learning' imparting education to scholars numbering about one-tenth of those in the inferior schools. The endowments which they originally possessed for the most part disappeared in the confusion which prevailed at the beginning of the century, and this will partly no doubt account for the fact that they sank in numbers in proportion to the other native schools, so that they in 1881-2 contained only 15,300 or less than one-twentieth of the numbers in the elementary schools. The exclusively religious character of their instruction precluded any general recognition from the State, and only in Bengal and the Panjáb were they systematically assisted. In the Panjáb, it is one of the main functions of the University to encourage indigenous Muhammadan, Hindu, and Sikh learning, and liberal rewards are given for proficiency. The Bengal department began in 1864-5 to assign grants to some of the *tols* and *mukhtabs* in the province, and since 1870 those at Nadiya and Tirhut have received especial attention. In 1878 examinations were held and titles given to pupils of Sanskrit schools, and by 1881-2 110 had passed in literature, law, and philosophy. At the same date 458 Muhammadan classes with nearly 4,400 students were being aided, though ten years before there were less than 200 Muhammadan students in connection with the department.

The peculiar case of Burmah has been excluded from the above; we mentioned before the exceptional state of education in that province. The means of improving the native schools without endangering their position was long an unsolved problem. In 1873 a scheme was devised. Burmese officers were appointed over different districts. Their duties were to conduct examinations and to confer rewards on all schools which they were invited to visit. In this way the native classes both in the monasteries and in the villages were brought into a loose connection with the State, which is expected in course of time to give way to a far closer and more definite relation. In 1881-2 the schools which

the system affected contained over 100,000 children in a population of about three millions.

If it be asked whether such native schools as remain unconnected with the State have suffered any change in character or position, the answer will vary for the different provinces. In Madras they seem to have improved in character, though the teacher has sunk in estimation. In Bengal comparatively few remain, while in the North-West little change seems to have been effected. In general it may be said that around the coast they have either changed or disappeared, while in the remote districts of the interior they still remain as before. Their future fate is doubtless either absorption or extinction.

Missionary Education.

We saw that in 1852 Missionary Societies were teaching nearly 100,000 children, of whom about 30,000 might be said to be receiving secondary instruction. In 1881-2 the total had increased to nearly 190,000, out of which number nearly 85,000 boys and far the larger portion of 47,000 girls belonged to the elementary side. In Arts Colleges and Secondary Schools maintained by missionaries, 385 in number, there were over 45,000 scholars. But while less than one-tenth of the aided, and not more than one-twentieth of the total number of primary scholars were in missionary schools, of the total secondary education one-sixth, and of the aided secondary about one-third was attached to missions. This fact, which is not unimportant in connection with subsequent events, shows a great change in the application of missionary effort during this third period. The missionary colleges had become numerous and important. Some of them, such as the General Assembly's schools at Calcutta and Madras, rivalled even the State colleges. On the whole however there was and has remained a marked inferiority, as will be evident to anyone who will take the trouble to examine the calendars of the Indian Universities.

The social position of the scholars in missionary schools

in regard to caste does not differ greatly from that of the scholars of State schools. The wealthier men, however, send their children to the latter, where the fees are kept at a high standard, while in missionary schools they are much lower. The cardinal point of difference between the two classes of institutions is that in the one Christianity is, and in the other it is not, taught. It must, however, be confessed that the amount of religious instruction tends to be very much restricted from three causes, the small proportion of Christians in the schools, the small proportion of Christian teachers, and the necessity of competing with the Government schools. The Rev. James Johnston makes a significant statement on the subject in his reply to a pamphlet by the Maharajah of Travancore. 'The missionaries,' he says, 'by desperate exertions continue to keep up a certain amount of religious instruction.' It seems, however, that Hindus often obtain a considerable acquaintance with Christian doctrine, and sometimes convey the erroneous impression that they have accepted as true what they appear so thoroughly to understand¹. Nay, 'Hymns and Christian poetry, expressing the devouter thoughts and even the rapturous emotions of a true believer, are learnt and even sung by young persons who pass from the school to homes in which the Divinity of the Son of God is rejected with Muhammadan disdain, and the abominations of idolatry scatter their pestilential influence on all around².' It should be said that the morality of this procedure and its success in effecting conversions have sometimes been questioned: but both these are matters which lie outside the range of our present subject.

It will be seen that missionary education had by the close of this period taken the third place in point of numbers among the agencies for raising the intellectual condition of the Hindus. In numbers, efficiency, and expensiveness the State schools take the lead. The missionary schools are inferior numerically to other aided schools, and are far less

¹ Vide Tremenhoe, *Missions in India*, pp. 39-40.

² Ibid. p. 36.

costly, and absorb far less of public money than is needed for the better teachers and superior accommodation of the departmental institutions.

Scholarships.

The despatch of 1854 advocated the foundation of a number of scholarships with the object, which Lord Auckland suggested in 1839, of connecting together all the different grades of schools. They were to be either simply free, or also stipendiary, and the latter were to be sufficient in amount to afford a maintenance to their possessors. Special attention was to be devoted to the provision of scholarships for persons studying for professions, such as teaching, medicine, or engineering, while those to which no special object was attached were to be even decreased in number.

In 1881–2 four lakhs of rupees, or over £30,000, being one-fortieth of the total expenditure, were devoted to scholarships. A considerable but not ascertainable portion of this amount must however be set down to private endowments, a fact which will partly explain the proportionately large amount attached to colleges. In primary schools only 800 scholarships of an average monthly value of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ rupees were held. But this is a natural state of things, since the scholarships were meant to be won in lower and held in higher schools. Almost all the above belonged to Bengal, Assam, and the Central Provinces; Bombay, Madras, the North-West Provinces and the Panjab being almost entirely destitute of them. The amount and number of scholarships tenable at secondary schools is not ascertainable: only in Bengal and the Central Provinces had the system been so applied as to connect the different grades of schools together. Thus in Bengal 217 scholarships of a monthly value of three rupees were gained in primary schools to be held in middle schools, similarly, 343 of a monthly value of three or four rupees were gained in middle and held in high schools, and 155 of monthly value varying from 10 to 20 rupees were gained in high schools and held in colleges. In addition to such

sums as these and apart from private endowments, Government scholarships of the yearly value of over $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were attached to the colleges and a further number was connected with the different examinations at the three Universities.

On the whole it would seem as if the intentions of the authors of the despatch of 1854 still needed to be carried out.

Special Education.

We close this rather lengthy chapter with a brief account of the state of special education, under which term we include normal education, technical education, oriental education, education of the aborigines, Muhammadan education, and female education. Most of these topics will not require more than a sentence or two.

1. *Normal Education.* Normal education was the subject of an express provision of the despatch of 1854: and the directions were during this period so far followed that at its close nearly half the teachers in Government primary schools were certificated. The value of the certificate varied in the different provinces. The system was most complete in Bombay and Madras, but neither there nor elsewhere were there facilities for the training of teachers for secondary schools, the university examinations supplying, as in Europe, a test of capacity regarded as sufficient.

2. *Technical Education.* Technical education was represented by five schools of Art attended by about 450 students, 18 engineering schools and colleges with about 600 students belonging chiefly to Bombay, and 12 medical schools and colleges training about 1,000 students. The most important engineering colleges are those at Rurki in the North-West and Puna in Bombay; but engineering is not popular in India. There was no general system of practical technical education such as exists in some parts of England.

3. *Oriental Education.* In addition to the tols and muk'tabs patronized by the Governments of Bengal and the Panjab there existed in 1881-2 three purely oriental colleges, that at Lahore, the oriental side of the Canning College at Lucknow, and the

Sanskrit department of the college at Benares. In the Sanskrit College at Calcutta and the fifteen Madrassas Arabic and Sanskrit now form only part of the course of study. The same is true of the Aligarh Institute founded by the Muhammadan community at the instigation of Sir Syad Ahmad Khan. It should not however be imagined that Sanskrit and Arabic are not studied outside the Oriental Colleges. In the year in question nearly 3,000 undergraduates were reading Sanskrit, 120 Arabic, and 370 Persian, while of the 20,000 scholars engaged on 'classical languages' in secondary schools an immense majority would favour the same three languages.

The Aborigines consist of about six millions of wild tribes of non-Aryan descent. Some of them represent a very early stage of civilisation, practising polyandry openly and human sacrifice in secret. The difficulty of dealing with them is very great in consequence of their rude language and extreme shyness. In 1882 only 13,000 children of these tribes were in the schools. Experience, however, has proved that it is not impossible to reclaim them to civilisation, and they offer a hopeful prospect for missionary enterprise.

From the earliest days of Government education, the Muhammadans have found peculiar difficulty in availing themselves of it. Their reluctance has largely to be set down to pique, but still more largely to the character of their own instruction, which is exclusively religious. The Muhammadan, in contrast to the supple Hindu, is extremely tenacious of the memory, the customs, and the religion of his forefathers. These facts together with the small proportion of Muhammadan teachers, the practice of domestic education, the poverty and love of the military profession prevailing among the Indian Musalmans, seemed likely to keep them permanently excluded. Nor did they always show themselves worthy of the special provision made for them. In the Calcutta Madrassa not only were peculation and fraud often rife, but sedition was commonly preached, and those parts of the Koran which proclaim the duty of making war on the heretic were the favourite subject of

study. For these various reasons only one-seventh of the children in the schools in 1870-1 were Muhammadans, although the creed was professed by not far from a quarter of the population. Only in the North-West Provinces and Oudh was the proportion of Muhammadans in the population less than the proportion of Muhammadan children in the schools¹.

In 1871 these facts were represented to the provincial authorities, and measures were accordingly taken. Special schools and scholarships were provided for Muhammadans. Arabic and Persian were encouraged at the universities. To the special schools were appointed inspectors and teachers of the same creed. In short, everything reasonable was done to attract Musalmans into the schools. The result was that in 1882 the proportion had been considerably increased. But it was found that this increase was practically confined to primary schools, and still only 11 per cent. of scholars receiving a higher education professed Islam. It seemed that the difficulties which they experienced in entering the schools grew greater as time advanced and the language and substance of the religion were more and more replaced by English and European science. In the Panjab and the North-West Provinces, where Muhammadans form a larger proportion of the population, and in Bengal, where Muhammadan education had received special attention, the same effects were not discernible. It was hoped that similar results would follow the measures taken in the other provinces. The discontent of the Muhammadan population might lead to grave combinations both inside and outside India. For this reason especial credit is due to the wise efforts of Sir Syad Ahmad Khan and the other prominent Muhammadans who created the Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

6. *Edu-
cation of
women.*

It was stated in the first chapter that general native education of women was found only among the Buddhists of Burmah. Besides this a certain amount of knowledge

¹ Being in the ratio of 13.5 and 9.9 per cent. to 17.8 and 25.3 per cent. respectively.

was often imparted to girls among the Sikhs of the Panjab and Scinde, the Rajputni women, and the exiled Parsis settled at Bombay. The missionaries early devoted themselves to the upraising of women, and their schools always contained a certain number of low-caste, orphan, or purchased girls. In 1851 they had about 13,000 female children either permanently or temporarily under instruction.

Early in the present century the 'Union School Society'¹ at Calcutta turned its attention to the education of women, and a lady named Miss Cooke arrived in 1821 to superintend their school, which soon numbered about 200 girls. A special 'Native Female Education Society' arose in 1824 and founded a central school. This was practically all that was done until 1849 when Mr Drinkwater Bethune endowed a school for girls at Calcutta. A few girls of high caste were gathered together there. But in spite of every precaution against offending native prejudices and of great pecuniary advantages the school never obtained more than a moderate success. In 1855 an entirely new scheme was propounded by the Rev. W. Forster, a colleague of Dr Duff. This was the well-known system of Zanana missions. A number of English ladies were induced to form themselves into societies for visiting Hindu ladies in their homes and giving them instruction. This instruction was largely religious, but a certain amount of secular teaching went on. 'The most successful are composed of one or more English ladies with a trained staff of Native Christians or Anglo-Indian young women who teach in the Zananas allotted to them.' A quite different class of Zanana agencies arose during the last few years of this period, consisting of mixed committees of natives and Europeans, whose object was to communicate purely secular knowledge. They have achieved a certain amount of success. Some of the Zanana missions have occasionally received aid from the Governments. In 1881-2 it was calculated that about 9,000 women in all India were being taught on this system at their own homes.

¹ Vide *Calcutta Review*, July—Dec. 1855, pp. 61--103. Shoshee Chunder Dutt, *India Past and Present*.

But quite apart from the *Zanana* missions there is a system of Government and aided girls' schools, similar in character, but very dissimilar in extent, to those for boys. The first genuine State effort in the direction of female education seems to have been made in the Panjab in 1862-3. Previous to that a teachers' certificate examination was provided in Madras, and a certain number of small annual payments were given in Bombay to schoolmasters who maintained classes for girls. In the Panjab it was suggested that family priests might be employed to teach the women, and allowances were made them on these terms. Next year it was determined that they should give their attention to young girls and not to married women or widows. It cannot be said that much was accomplished. 'A remarkable feature was, the preponderance of Muhammadan girls over Hindus. In all India there were in 1866-7 only 50,000 girls receiving instruction, and of the quality of this instruction in Bengal the inspector gave in that year a description which would probably have applied generally. . . 'The female schools consisted of from three to six infants squalling about and inking their fingers in copying letters on strips of leaves. Sometimes one or two could attempt a very little reading¹.'

In 1881-2 considerable progress had been made. Madras had a complete system of girls' schools of various grades. So too Bombay, and generally a certain amount of order had been introduced. Altogether nearly 130,000 girls were under instruction, all but a few in elementary schools.

The proportion of girls under instruction to the total female population varied from one in 403 in Madras and one in 431 in Bombay to one in 976 in Bengal and one in 2169 in the North-West Provinces and Oudh. Of the whole number of Indian girls of the school-going age only 85 per cent. were at school: and of the total number of women in India only one in 434 was able to read and write. At the same time the proportion of males able to read and write was one in 16. This is not the place to discuss the bearing of these facts. But they suffice to show how strong are the

¹ Quoted in Howell's Report for 1866-7.

prejudices which have stood in the way of the education of women in the past, and what energy joined to what caution is needed in the future.

We have now described in detail the elaborate educational ^{Conclusion.} system which was built up during this period. Except in a few points to be discussed in the following chapter the system still remains unchanged. It is a vast machine which only the persistent efforts of a great number of able men could have succeeded in framing in India. It is not yet complete, but every day adds to its efficiency and precision. Complaints have been made of a tendency to extreme uniformity. But those who recognize the immense diversities of opinion and society in native India, and understand that it is the mission of England to combine the separate units into a single powerful whole, and thereby create a nation, and who are aware how insignificant is the number of Englishmen who have to direct this immense and increasing body of operations, will not be inclined to deplore a rigour and symmetry which lighten the labour and add to the power of those who govern and oversee.

CHAPTER V.

THE COMMISSION OF 1882-3 AND ITS RESULTS.

*Intentions
of the
despatch
of 1854.*

UNDOUBTEDLY the two chief features of the Despatch of 1854 were the extension of elementary education and the system of grants-in-aid. The authors, and the body they represented were 'desirous of extending far more widely the means of acquiring general European knowledge of a less high order, but of such a character as may be practically useful to the people of India in their different spheres of life'. In adopting the system of grants-in-aid as the only possible means of giving effect to any general plan of education they looked 'forward to a time, when any general system of education, entirely provided by Government, might be discontinued with the gradual advance of the system of grants-in-aid'. Referring to the then existing colleges they say:—

'We have, by the establishment and support of these colleges, pointed out the manner in which a liberal education is to be obtained, and assisted them to a very considerable extent from the public funds. In addition to this, we are now prepared to give, by sanctioning the establishment of Universities, full development to the highest course of education to which the natives of India, or of any other country, can aspire; and besides, by the division of University degrees and distinctions into different branches, the exertions of highly educated men will be directed to the studies which are necessary to success in the various active professions of life. We *shall, therefore, have done as much as a Government can do to place the benefits of education plainly and practically before the higher classes of India*'.¹

¹ § 10.

² § 62.

§ 40.

Attention was now to be directed to providing education for the great mass of the people 'who are utterly incapable of obtaining any education worthy of the name by their own unaided efforts': and the authors desired 'to see the active measures of Government more especially directed for the future to this object, *for the attainment of which* we are ready to sanction a considerable increase of expenditure.'

It is evident from these quotations (1) that no addition to the number of Government colleges was contemplated, (2) that high and middle instruction was to be left chiefly to the system of grants-in-aid, (3) that attention was to be directed primarily to the education of the great mass of the people. For further evidence we may refer to §§ 61 and 86, in the latter of which the future abandonment by the State even of *existing* schools is contemplated. These principles are confirmed by despatches dated 1859, 1863, 1864, and 1871, emanating from Lord Stanley, Sir Charles Wood, and the Duke of Argyll, and the remotest chance of misapprehending the object of the original despatch, is removed by a letter written to the Rev. James Johnston in 1879 by its distinguished author. 'The great object,' he says, 'was to promote the *general* education of the people of India, and to leave the higher and richer portion of the population to provide mainly for their own education.'

In 1854-5 the expenditure on education from public funds was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. In 1881-2 it had increased to 160 lakhs.¹ But, while in 1854-5 nearly the whole came from the imperial revenue, in 1881-2 $26\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs were the produce of local, and 4 lakhs of municipal, rates. The increase of expenditure contemplated by the despatch had, therefore, taken place. But what of its application? At the beginning of the period there were 14 Government Arts Colleges: at the end there were 30 Government, 20 aided, and 9 unaided colleges, in all 59. The expenditure from public sources on the Government colleges was $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, on the whole number of colleges 8 lakhs of rupees. Thus,

¹ § 41.

whereas in 1854-5 the whole system of State institutions, including nearly 50 high schools in Bengal alone, cost only $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, at the close of the period seven-eighths of that sum were spent on Government colleges alone: and, whereas no numerical increase of those colleges had been contemplated in 1854, they had actually been more than doubled in twenty-seven years. If now we add the cost of Government high schools— $6\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs—we get the result that Government higher education—excluding the cost of middle schools—was in 1881-2 more expensive by $\text{Rs } 500,000$ than was the whole number of colleges, high schools, and lower schools in existence in 1854. This was a most unwarrantable violation of the principles of the despatch.

Again, it is evident from paragraph 41¹ of the despatch, that the additional expenditure sanctioned was intended to be devoted mainly to the education of the great mass of the people who were unable to help themselves. In 1881-2 the total expenditure on State primary and middle schools was 35 lakhs. This sum, it may be said, is not far from three times the sum spent by the department on its high schools and colleges. Surely that is a sufficiently large proportion. The answer is complete. Of the above sum only $12\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs came from sources contemplated by the authors of the despatch. The rest was derived from rates and cesses, which constitute an additional drain on the mass of the population. Thus from grants about *equal* amounts were expended on high education on the one hand, and primary education on the other; and, while for the education of the masses an extension of grants was sanctioned in 1854, and while the grants had grown from $7\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs to $60\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, or deducting the cost of direction and the like, to about 32 lakhs, of this increase only about $12\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs had been applied to the purpose contemplated and an additional seven lakhs had been diverted to higher education. For the maintenance of elementary schools belonging to the department rates amounting to over 26 lakhs had been levied from the mass of the people, while the total sum so levied amounted,

¹ Quoted above.

if we add the expenditure from this source on aided primary or middle schools, to over three millions of rupees.

What has been said above applies only to the departmental schools, for which the officers concerned were more directly responsible. The total expenditure from public sources on higher education, including high schools and colleges, was over 16 lakhs, while to middle and primary schools aided and unaided about 24½ lakhs was devoted from the same sources together with a rather larger sum derived from rates and cesses. This proportion may seem in the abstract not unfair. But sufficient has been said to show that it was at any rate inconsistent with the intentions of the authors of the despatch of 1854. Even if we leave the aided schools out of account, it is evident that about £70,000 in a total expenditure of little over a million sterling was being diverted from primary and middle education for the benefit of high schools and colleges.

These facts were, perhaps, in themselves not sufficient to account for the wide-spread agitation which began, in 1879. In the previous chapter we had repeatedly to notice that the State schools were much more expensive than such as were aided without producing at any rate proportionally better results. Thus in 1881-2 some 2,700 students in State colleges were costing the Government over 6½ lakhs and altogether over 9 lakhs, while the aided colleges were educating 2,000 students at a total cost of little over 3 lakhs, of which only Rs65,000 were derived from public sources. So that about 2,000 students in aided colleges cost the State but a tenth of the sum spent on 2,700 students in its own institutions. A similar, though not quite so enormous, disproportion existed also in the case of high schools. The reasons for this phenomenon were partly the superior accommodation and instruction in the State schools and partly the universally greater expense of operations conducted by Government.

*Other
reasons for
discontent*

A further cause for discontent was to be found in the comparatively slow increase of the total numbers under instruction. In 1870-1 there were nearly 1,900,000 children

in all the schools: in 1881-2 the number was about 2,650,000. This gives a yearly increase of not quite 70,000. The number of children of the school age underwent during the same period an average annual increase of over 200,000. Thus not only was British education not gaining ground, but it was falling behind at the rate of over 130,000 children every year. And whereas in 1870-1 there were about 26 millions of children of the school age receiving no instruction, in 1881-2 this number had increased to over 28 millions, and there was every probability of its increasing with still greater rapidity.

Lastly, it may be questioned whether the system of grants-in-aid had received the encouragement which it deserved. It is true that in Bengal, in Assam, and in Madras it had been extensively applied to primary education. But in Bombay where the primary schools contained over 330,000 children, only 14,000 were aided: in the North-West Provinces there were 15,000 out of 200,000 in aided schools: in the Panjab 14,600 out of 88,000; and in the Central Provinces 19,000 out of 56,000. Similarly in the case of higher education, Bengal and Madras contained a preponderance of aided schools, while in the other provinces the proportion was reversed. In the case of collegiate education, Madras alone maintained a fair proportion of aided to departmental institutions, namely eleven to ten, while even Bengal possessed twelve departmental, compared with five aided, colleges. It is therefore not too much to say that the grants-in-aid system had not been sufficiently encouraged except in the case of Madras and Bengal, and even Bengal was deficient so far as collegiate education was concerned.

*Summary
of pre-
ceding.*

These, then, are the facts upon the strength of which those who demanded a revision of the system relied. British Education was not only not gaining, it was losing ground. Meanwhile at least £76,000 was being unwarrantably spent on schools for higher education, where the education of each student demanded the expenditure of a sum which would have sufficed to maintain an entire village school. Further, not only was too great a sum being devoted to higher education,

but it was applied through the medium of State schools and colleges, which, without producing at any rate proportionately better results, were more expensive to Government than aided institutions of similar nature in a ratio varying from three to one to seven to one.

But while these may be set down as the larger causes *Discontent among missionary bodies.* of the movement, there were not wanting certain minor causes and occasions. It should be premised that the agitation was at any rate commenced by representatives of the missionary bodies at work in India. We have mentioned their splendid services to education generally. Of collegiate education they had been conspicuous champions, and most of the 20 aided arts colleges were maintained by them. It was from them that complaints first began to arise. They complained, on the one hand, of unfair treatment to themselves. The Government scholarships were not tenable in their schools, but only in State schools, and thus their best scholars were attracted away. The internal discipline was unwarrantably interfered with, and in some cases they were compelled to make use of books of which they entirely disapproved. Unwelcome regulations as to fees, promotion, salaries were pressed upon them. Their grants were cut down without notice, and sometimes the grant-in-aid rules were such as to render necessary some amount of pious fraud in order to obtain any assistance at all. Not seldom the Government officials, inspectors, etc., were openly unfair to them. Instances were known where inspectors admitted having 'experienced pleasure in plucking in mission schools boys who had joined them from a Government school'. There was a strong corporate feeling among the officials from the director downward, and every possible means were used to bolster up the State high schools against rivalry. Although the despatch of 1854 provided that, where an adequate aided school existed, no State school should be introduced, this regulation had been repeatedly violated². In fact everything had been done

¹ See *Answers of Missionaries to questions by the General Council on Education.*

² *Abolition or transference, passim.*

to keep up a system of cramming and competition as damaging to the State schools as to their rivals. In this way the missionaries experienced considerable difficulty in providing even a slight amount of religious teaching. These were their complaints on their own behalf. To the State schools they had, besides more general objections, this one in particular, that, while destroying the native religion, they provided nothing in its place, and tended to give the impression that religion had but an insignificant part to play in the world'. More than this was in some cases alleged. The Rev. K. M. Banarji writes² in 1880:—

‘The secret of this is that the State colleges are to a large extent under the influence of men who are secular in their sentiments and directly or indirectly, openly or covertly, such sentiments are, as a matter of fact, found to be largely instilled into the minds of their pupils. The India Office in London must be held responsible for sending secular scientists. For secularists in parliament the Government cannot be held responsible. The electors are answerable for that. But for secular professors in Government colleges in India the Home Government, which appoints them, must be held responsible. Such appointments cannot be consistent with the professed principle of non-interference with religion. It is on the contrary interference with a vengeance not with, but against all religions in India. If science is to be taught it must be taught by men who can as effectually teach as any professor sent by the India Office without idolizing matter as the all-in-all of the Universe.’

This passage has been quoted as representing the extreme missionary views on the subject. It is not often that so open and naive a confession is made of the principles of inquisition and persecution. They carry the stamp of sincerity when they do come. We postpone dealing with the matter till later. For the present it is sufficient to have indicated (1) the general causes, (2) the minor causes and occasions, (3) the originators of the movement the history of which we are about briefly to relate.

In 1878 was formed, chiefly through the exertions of the Rev. James Johnston, the General Council of Educa-

¹ *Abolition or transference*, p. 11.

² Vide *Answers of Missionaries to questions by the General Council on Education*.

tion in India. The remonstrances against the action of the departments having failed in India, it was resolved at last, in accordance with a principle we have mentioned before, to commence in England. Mr Johnston became the secretary, as he was the most active and enthusiastic member of the Council. It was he that by speaking, by writing pamphlets, and by organising deputations to influential statesmen, brought the movement into notice. The Council contained such names as the Earl of Shaftesbury, Lord Lawrence, and Lord Halifax, once Sir Charles Wood, the author of the great despatch of 1854. Lord Hartington, as secretary of State for India, was interested in the movement, and the Marquis of Ripon, when he went out to India in 1880, gave pledges to a deputation of the Council which had waited upon him, that he would make a thorough and searching inquiry as to how far the principles of the despatch had been carried out. It was not long before the pledge was redeemed. On February 3, 1882, an 'Education Commission was appointed to enquire into the existing state of Public Instruction, and to suggest means for furthering the system on a popular basis.' Dr Hunter¹ was appointed president, and the members, twenty-one in number, represented not only official, but also native and missionary, views.

The General Council on Education in India.

Appointment of the Education Commission.

It will be convenient in this place to say what we have to add concerning the state of the controversy at the date of the appointment of the Commission. The case against the departments has been almost entirely stated. Only two other arguments remain. The first was that the scholars in the Government schools and colleges were paying fees ridiculously small, and that to this cause was partly due the expensiveness of those institutions. The second was that high education was being stimulated beyond the requirements of the country. The middle classes were naturally few in numbers in proportion to the rest of the population of a country like India, where the system of middlemen was very slightly developed. The students in

The state of the controversy.

¹ Now Sir W. W. Hunter.

the colleges had not many professions open to them, and for such as existed, for example civil engineering, they displayed little liking. Hence the education they received was almost entirely literary, and the two professions for which this education fitted them, the public service and the bar, to enter which seemed to be the only object considered worthy of attainment, were overcrowded. The result was that a large number of educated men were either in inferior positions or without any occupation at all. Hence the growing dissatisfaction, and the open disloyalty of 'Young Bengal.'

These were the arguments of the party which was desirous of change. Of this party the missionaries formed the characteristic element. On the other side was ranged nearly the whole body of officials and professors connected with the department, along with a large proportion of educated native opinion. It is to be feared that the party was far stronger than the cause it represented. No attempt worthy of notice was made, so far as we are aware, to invalidate the facts we have urged concerning the actual state of distribution of educational efforts. On the other hand an effort was made to show that the despatch of 1854 did not forbid a considerable development of high education carried on by the State¹. We apprehend that the quotations with which we commenced this chapter effectually dispose of that view. The attempt to place a new construction on the despatch was perhaps only a feint. The argument on which the greatest reliance was placed was one we have met with before under the name of the 'filtering down' theory, namely, that it was necessary first to create a highly educated class, by which means general education would be in the end more quickly and more surely conveyed to the masses. The force of this argument will be discussed in the chapter which follows. For the present it is sufficient to observe that the theory is condemned in the despatch², and that to raise this question was altogether to alter the ground of the controversy.

¹ Vide *High Schools in India* by Sir Roper Lethbridge.

² § 40.

As the Rev. Mr Johnston pertinently observed, the despatch had been constantly recognized as settling the principles on which State education was to be carried on, and it was the business of those who disagreed with these principles to procure their open repeal. Such were the wider arguments of the party. As to minor matters, it was maintained, and so far as in England can be judged, successfully maintained, that the tuition fees paid by students in the colleges were large, compared, *mutatis mutandis*, with those in the colleges of England: that native opinion—which at any rate deserved some attention—was in favour of the schools and colleges: finally, that it was ridiculous to charge the Government schools with causing the irreligion and immorality so commonly ascribed to the 'Young Bengal' party. With these last arguments we must again express our concurrence. It is but fair to admit that the more sober representatives of the opposing party, in particular Mr Johnston, were prepared to admit their force¹. We go further. Even if we accept the statements of men who endeavour by anecdotes to convict the educated Hindus of every vice under the sun and propose to remedy the alleged disease by moral extracts and expurgated school books, it seems to us that the religion or irreligion of the Hindus has nothing whatever to do with the matter. The principles of the despatch of 1854 are those of religious neutrality, and to assert, as Mr Johnston does, that the State schools violated these principles, because European knowledge there imparted undermines the native beliefs, is nothing but an unworthy quibble. Those who assert that European knowledge *must* destroy these beliefs should be the last to urge such an argument.

We close this discussion by noticing a counter-charge made by the official party. It was asserted that the missionaries were at the bottom of the whole agitation and that, being unable to sustain competition with the department, they desired to rid themselves of their rival, and thus to be relieved of the strenuous efforts which they were

¹ *Our Educational Policy in India*, Introd. p. xv.

² *Ib.* p. 37.

forced to make. In fact, the missionaries desired to get the whole of the higher education into their own hands, after which the standards would be lowered, and everything taught would be tinged with theological bias. No doubt the agitation did begin with the missionaries. Not improbably it would be undesirable for the higher education to be wholly in the hands of the missionaries. But the answer to the charge was complete. Not only were the missionaries entirely incapable of managing the whole system of education; not only were there in existence, besides State and missionary colléges, a number of institutions¹ managed entirely by natives, sufficient at any rate to prevent the extinction of competition; but, quite apart from all this, the demand was, not that the colleges should be everywhere abolished or placed in the hands of missionaries, but that they should be transferred to local bodies consisting mainly of natives, the very men who required to be protected from the missionaries!

The proceedings of the Commission.

Such was the state of the controversy when the Education Commission was appointed in February 1882. The resolution by which it was instituted strongly reaffirmed the principles of the despatch of 1854. The duties of the Commission were to enquire how far these principles had been carried out, and to suggest further measures. Its enquiries were to deal with primary, secondary, normal, female, and indigenous education, with fees, grants-in-aid, and payments-by-results, with self-help and local control. Only University, Eurasian and European, special and technical, education, and all that concerned British Burmah, were to lie outside its scope.

The Commission met at Calcutta on February 10, 1882, and sat regularly until March 31st. The interval was occupied in preparing a scheme of operations, a list of questions to be asked; and in the examination of the Bengal witnesses. During the next eight months the president visited the different provinces collecting materials, receiving petitions, and examining witnesses. His proceedings have been con-

¹ A list of some of these is given in *Answers &c.* and in the *Report of the Commission*, p. 267.

pared to a triumphal procession. A great enthusiasm was excited on the subject of education. At every place that was visited large meetings were held to welcome the Commission. One hundred and ninety-three witnesses were examined, and three hundred and twenty-three memorials were presented, one hundred and forty of them coming from Educational Societies and municipal and other public bodies. When the Commission met again in Calcutta, an immense mass of evidence had been collected. Over three months were spent in digesting this by means of six sub-committees and in arriving at no less than two hundred and twenty-two resolutions, of which one hundred and eighty were carried unanimously. On the 16th of March the Commission broke up, leaving behind a committee of five members to prepare a report.

The report, of which we have in Chapter IV. made considerable use, is a folio volume of over 600 pages. *Report of the Commission.* After giving a review of Education in India it proceeds to devote special chapters to each of the following:—indigenous education, primary education, secondary education, collegiate education, internal administration of the department, external relations of the department, education of classes requiring special treatment, female education, educational legislation, financial summary. The whole closes with a recapitulation of recommendations attached to each chapter, and two or three minutes and dissents.

Being based on the policy of carrying out the despatch of 1854, it is natural that the recommendations should follow in order of importance the items of that document. Thus primary education forms the subject of some of the more noteworthy. The third recommendation under that heading reads as follows:

‘That, while every branch of education can justly claim the fostering care of the State, it is desirable in the present circumstances of the country to declare the elementary education of the masses, its provision, extension, and improvement, to be that part of the educational system to which the strenuous efforts of the State should now be directed, in a still larger measure than before.’

Primary education was to be regarded as an end in itself, and not necessarily as a portion of instruction leading up to the University. For this purpose the standards were to be revised with a view to the introduction of practical subjects such as native arithmetic, mensuration, and the elements of physical science. The indigenous schools were to be everywhere recognized, encouraged, and gradually improved. Special attention was to be paid to backward districts. As to finance, primary schools should have an almost exclusive claim on local, and a large claim on provincial, funds. The method of assigning aid should be that of payment-by-results except in the case of backward districts.

2. *Secondary Education.*

'With regard to secondary schools it was to be distinctly laid down that the relation of the State to secondary is different from its relation to primary education, in that the means of primary education may be provided without regard to the existence of local co-operation, while it is ordinarily expedient to provide the means of secondary education only where adequate local co-operation is forthcoming; and that therefore in all ordinary cases secondary schools for instruction in English be hereafter established by the State preferably on the footing of the system of grants-in-aid.'

In the upper classes of the high schools there were to be 'two divisions—one leading to the Entrance Examination of the Universities, the other of a more practical character, intended to fit youths for commercial or other non-literary pursuits,' and the certificate of having passed the standards of either course was to be accepted as a general test of fitness for the public service.

3. *Colleges.*

The question of the Government connection with the colleges was settled by dividing them into three classes; (1) those from which it would be premature to withdraw, as being and likely for some time to continue to be, the institutions on which higher education would mainly depend, (2) those which might be with advantage transferred to local bodies of natives on stringent conditions of permanent maintenance in full efficiency, (3) those which, having been only partly successful, it was advisable to transfer without such stringent guarantees or to close permanently, in case after due

notice no local body cared to carry them on. The Commission named two colleges in Bengal which it considered should be placed in the second, and three in the third, class. Besides these general rules, certain regulations with regard to scholarships, fees, and fellowships were added.

Many suggested regulations dealt with the internal administration of the department. These referred among other things to conferences of teachers in Government and aided schools, to the provision of inspectors and inspectresses, examination and text-book committees. Most of these rules, though important in India, are not interesting in England. The external relations of the department were the subject of thirty-six resolutions. A number of these dealt with the grants-in-aid. Payments-by-results were not to be applied to colleges. Every application for a grant was to receive a reply. No grants were to be given to institutions rendered self-supporting by means of fees. The maximum grants, namely one-half of the entire expenditure, should in general be given only to girls' primary, and normal schools. Scholarships should be tenable in aided schools. On all questions of general interest managers of aided schools were to be consulted, and care was to be taken that the use of the same text-books should not be enforced. Generally the 'expansion of aided institutions' was to be an object in every province.

For the education of Muhammadans, the aborigines, women, and Indian nobles special provision was suggested, and the principle, already theoretically recognized, that low-caste children should be admitted to all Government schools, was to be firmly, if cautiously, applied.

For moral education some provision was to be made.

'A moral text-book, based upon the fundamental principles of natural religion, was to be used in all colleges, and the Principal was everywhere to be required to deliver sessional lectures on 'the duties of a man and a citizen.'

Perhaps we may place in connection with this the suggested provision for the encouragement of sports, games, and school-drill in primary schools.

6. *Boards.* Undoubtedly the most important suggestions were those which concerned school-boards. We have seen that local boards with not everywhere similar powers, including except in Bengal a varying amount of control over primary education, existed in all provinces of India. Their duties were now to be more clearly defined by provincial enactments. The school-district was to be identical with any municipal or rural unit of local self-government, and school-boards would, perhaps, not seldom be sub-committees of the ordinary local boards. All schools in the district, aided and departmental, were to be placed under the school-boards, with the proviso that it should be open to the provincial Government to exclude any schools or class of schools, not primary, from their control and that managers should not have their existing powers curtailed except by the authority of the provincial Government. The conduct of the boards should be everywhere regulated by codes defining the internal mechanism and external relations of the department, and the scope, function, and rules of the system of grants-in-aid. It would be everywhere the duty of the boards to prepare an annual budget, to assign the grants-in-aid, and generally to manage actual educational operations. The funds at their disposal would consist chiefly of an assignment from provincial revenues, a fixed proportion of local and municipal funds, fees and unexpended balances.

This system of local boards, which undoubtedly is destined to revolutionize the conduct and character of education in India, was the subject of very considerable discussion. A large minority was in favour of excluding secondary education from the control of the boards on the ground that it was likely to receive too much attention, in consequence of the predominant desire to learn English, and that generally the relation of the State to secondary education was different from its relation to primary. These objections were however overruled. Strict regulations will probably obviate the anticipated evil. It is to be hoped that by similar means all chance of the oppression of the low-castes and of religious persecution will be prevented.

Such are the main features of the proposals submitted by the Commission. They were the result of very extensive investigations, lengthy discussion, and many compromises and concessions. Passed with singular unanimity, they were everywhere favourably received. Different parties have found fault with different special points. But on the whole the welcome they received was marred by no serious discord. A resolution¹ of the Imperial Government approved of all the more important recommendations. Many were selected for especial praise. Three were characteristically rejected. These are (1) the suggestion concerning the 'moral text-book,' (2) 'that concerning college lectures on 'the duties of a man and a citizen,' (3) the following:—

*Reception
of the
Report.
Resolution
of the
Governor-
General in
Council.*

['That the system of grants-in-aid be based, as hitherto, in accordance with paragraph 53 of the despatch of 1851, on an entire abstinence from interference with the religious instruction conveyed in the institution assisted;] provided that, when the only institution of any particular grade existing in any town or village is an institution in which religious instruction forms a part of the ordinary course, it shall be open to parents to withdraw their children from attendance at such instruction without forfeiting any of the benefits of the institution?'

After the Report had been sent in and adopted the great question remained what reception it would meet with from the provincial Governments. Fortunately all were well-disposed. The Bengal Government declared its intention of increasing its annual expenditure in the course of nine years by 14 lakhs. In Madras and the Central Provinces five per cent. of the provincial revenue was to be permanently assigned to education, and in the former province by this means and by additional payments from municipalities an increase of income was expected from 14 lakhs to 21 lakhs. Similar arrangements were to be effected in the other provinces. Only the Panjab was unable to increase its expenditure. Thus in 1886-7 the total expenditure was 255 lakhs as against 161 lakhs spent in 1881-2, and while in 1881-2 75 lakhs came from Government and only

¹ Dated 'Simla, 25th Oct. 1884.'

² This proviso is denounced by the Rev. Mr Johnston, '*Analysis &c.*' p. 145.

32 lakhs from local and municipal funds, in 1886-7 86 lakhs came from Government and 49 lakhs from local sources. In 1887-8 the expenditure had again increased to over 260 lakhs, and in the ten years 1878-1888 the total increase was over 100 lakhs.

*1883 to
1890.

Full information concerning the development of education during the present decade will not be accessible until 1892-3, when the yearly report will as in 1882-3 and 1872-3 be much fuller and more complete. Consequently our knowledge on this subject is very scanty and fragmentary. There is every reason to believe that the recommendations of the Commission are being carried out. From the beginning of the agitation in 1878 a perceptible improvement began. From 1875 to 1879 the increase in the number of children at the schools was only 143,400. From 1880 to 1883 it was 977,700, and from 1880 to 1888 it was 1,648,500, being an average annual increase of nearly 161,000. This, though not yet balancing the annual increase in the population of the school age, is a great advance. At the same time it is evident that much requires to be done. There ought to be over thirty millions of children in the schools, which as yet contain not four millions.

The transference of schools to the local boards seems to be freely progressing. In 1886-7 the Governments of Bombay and Madras had 'almost completely retired from the management of primary and secondary education'.¹ In Bengal the municipal schools had not yet been transferred. Secondary education has for the future to depend very largely on private effort: it is six years since the Bengal Government acknowledged that the time had arrived for the state gradually to retire from higher education. The transference of colleges is being steadily carried out.

The internal organisation is in the future, by a resolution of 1886, to be so far altered that the close service will be largely modified, and the teaching and inspecting agencies kept separate.

We subjoin a comparison of statistics.

¹ 'Moral and Material Progress,' sub. Education 1888.

Year.	Pupils in		
	Primary Schools.	Secondary Schools.	Colleges.
1881-2	1,934,748 Males 126,793 Females	206,656 Males 7,508 Females	5,892 Males 7 Females
1887-8	2,335,702 Males 221,434 Females	417,111 Males 27,387 Females	13,614 Males 55 Females

Muhammudan Education.

Muhammadans in the Schools.		
Year.	Number.	Percentage of Total Scholars.
1881-2	399,711	17.50
1887-8	804,485	24.06

Grants, &c.

Year.	Scholars in Aided Schools.	Percentage of Total Scholars.	Scholars in Unaided and Private Schools.	Percentage of Total Scholars.
1881-2	1,352,853	55	361,768	14.7
1887-8	1,703,527	49	800,763	26

Educational Revenue.

Year.	Provincial Grants.	Local Rates and Cesses.	Municipal Contributions.	Fees.	Subscriptions and Endowments.
	R	R	R	R	R
1881-2	7,492,680	29,52,587	4,57,436	43,92,664	38,76,154
1887-8	73,69,556	46,46,615	13,09,466	73,34,461	57,10,030

Expenditure on

Year.	Universities.	Colleges.	Primary Education.	Secondary Education.
	R	R	R	R
1881-2	1,77,740	15,81,103	82,00,000	43,80,000
1887-8	3,98,667	25,52,631	84,50,000	86,00,000

*Notes
on the
Statistics.*

The above tables to a large extent explain themselves. In the character of the schools there has been but little alteration. The numerical proportions have not greatly varied. The most important changes are:—

(1) In the number of girls in secondary schools.

(2) In the number of Muhammadan scholars. The proportion of these to the total is now greater than the proportion of the Muhammadan population to the total population.

(3) In the number of *unaided* and *private* schools. The growth of schools almost entirely independent of state aid is a symptom of healthy activity.

(4) In the amount received from fees, and from municipalities. The former increase will largely help to account for the enhanced expenditure in secondary education. A large number of new schools has sprung up, which are to a great extent supported by fees. The reason for the very slight increase in expenditure on *primary* education is not evident.

In 1881-2 a certain number of *technical* schools were connected with the department. These were excluded from the investigations of the Commission. They steadily diminished down to 1886-7, since which date they no longer appear in the returns. This is all the more remarkable as in that year the Governor-General proclaimed his intention of encouraging these institutions. The whole question is again under discussion.

The moral text-book and the question of moral education

seem of late to have again arisen from their ashes. In 1886 and again three years later the matter was brought up by the Governor-General. The discipline of the schools is thought to require special provision, and the monitorial system is recommended. The effect of the introduction of this system into India remains to be seen.

We conclude by repeating what we said at the end of *Conclusion*, the last chapter, that the general character of the system has not greatly altered since 1882. There have been some changes in proportions and in distribution: the grants-in-aid rules have been made more favourable, and the department has been more or less re-organised. But the schools themselves, though of course much more numerous than in 1881-2, as well as the education given in them, are almost entirely the same as at the close of the previous period. The greatest of the administrative changes, namely, the formation of Local Boards with extended and well-defined powers, and consisting chiefly of natives, is destined to have more than educational consequences. But the direction which these results will take and what political, social, and educational good or evil will result are questions to be decided by time alone.

CHAPTER VI.

ON SOME OF THE LARGER QUESTIONS CONNECTED WITH EDUCATION IN INDIA.

*Aim and
Scope of
Educa-
tion.*

IN no proper sense is it the object of education to draw out and develop innate powers. Education should be more humbly defined as that course of training by which we are made acquainted with the laws of nature and with our own souls, or—to use the beautiful phraseology of Matthew Arnold¹—‘to know ourselves and the world.’ The sciences by which we are taught to know ourselves are the sciences of culture, such as anthropology, philology, history, mental and moral philosophy, while the whole range of the physical sciences serves to inculcate the immutable laws of nature.

But, whereas of itself education aims simply at imparting knowledge as an end in itself, in practice it has often through association with accepted religions and ideals come to have the secondary object of forming character: thus persuasion has been added to instruction, and instruction has sometimes suffered from the admixture. In Europe the secondary aim has been to produce gentlemen and Christians. In India religion has for twenty-five centuries sanctified the pursuit of knowledge as the path to liberation from the world and absorption in God.

*Religious
policy of*

When the English undertook the education of India, they were already bound by repeated pledges to the maintenance

¹ *Schools and Universities on the Continent*, p. 258.

of religious neutrality. This principle, asserted by all the greatest of the English Governors and solemnly proclaimed in the great despatch of 1854¹, was justly regarded by the Hindus as the great safeguard of their religious liberties. But the principle cut both ways: and thus stripped of all ulterior aims, Government education was in theory confined to its proper object of conveying knowledge.

But while the folly of Government interference with the religion of the Hindus was generally conceded, the elevation of their moral character was admitted by intelligent Hindus no less than by Englishmen to be a prime necessity. Even among the Muhammadaus and the nobler races of the North-West there was an admitted inferiority in this respect. Hindu religion is for the educated a philosophy, for the ignorant a system of observances sanctioned by immemorial custom, admitting in both cases the conception of devotion to God. It has no authorized scheme of morals, and no religious books in which the moral element holds the highest place. Thus custom, and especially those customs which together form the ordinances of caste, were practically the sole authority and support of the morality of Brahmanism. Along with the general dissolution of ancient customs which the English rule brought about the customary morality received a grievous shock. Confronted with the higher standard which the English introduced, that which previously was a natural laxity was in many instances transformed into a conscious transgression. This decay of old influences led among the classes affected by contact with the English to a certain weakening of the moral sense, and what was seen to be partly conventional was thought to be wholly so. The usual evil results followed, and there appeared quaint letters in the newspapers from Hindu parents, complaining that English learning led to nothing but vanity, irreligion, and vice. But such complaints were powerless to check the movement and served only to aggravate the existing exasperation between the new and the old.

¹ And reiterated in the recommendations of the Commission of 1882, vide Resolution 25.

*Opposition
to that
policy.*

But there were men in India who for very different reasons were distressed at the same phenomena. The missionaries complained that they had no bitterer opponents than the alumni of Government colleges. The sole reason they could assign for this was that Christianity was not there taught, and they could prescribe no other remedy than the employment of the Bible as a compulsory class-book. They declared—perhaps with truth—that their own schools, where Christianity was (they said) hourly taught and everywhere present, by providing something in the place of the beliefs they supplanted, prevented much of the scepticism, disloyalty, and other evil results which they ascribed to the Government schools.

These complaints have not ceased at the present day. One writer¹ would have us establish 'at least one undenominational Christian college for each of the three presidencies.' Another², while admitting the difficulty of the position, and regretting that the English did not from the first profess an aggressive Christian policy, cannot describe the Government neutrality except, as a system which by *disregarding* religion proselytizes to secularism. A third³ holds that 'directly or indirectly, openly or covertly' secular sentiments are being instilled into the minds of the scholars, and goes so far as to maintain that while the Government of England is not responsible for secularists in Parliament, the sending out of secular professors is inconsistent with religious neutrality. A fourth representative of missionary views endeavours to prove the Hindus guilty of almost every imaginable sin, and apparently proposes to effect a remedy by means of expurgated school-books. The ablest of the above, the Rev. James Johnston, sees only one possible remedy, the retirement of the Government from all higher education.

*Is the
religious
question in
the same*

But, though the complaints have not changed, it would seem that the facts are not now entirely the same as they were forty years ago. In the first place it seems as if the

¹ *Quarterly Review*, No. 65, p. 62.

² The Rev. J. Johnston, *Abolition or Transference*, p. 11.

³ The Rev. K. M. Banarji, quoted in ch. v.

feverishness and uncertain movements of that time have *position* given place to distinguishable currents of opinion. The *as in* orthodox party seems to have learnt what enemies it has to 1850? deal with, and it has now taken up a definite position. It is perhaps possible—though here we speak with great uncertainty owing to conflicting testimony—that English education does not so generally result in renunciation of Brahmanism as it used to do: it is certain that *open* renunciation is not so common. We can scarcely conceive of a religion falling through mere mistakes in geography, especially if the religion have such a philosophical basis as has that of the Hindus. But further such amount of secession as does take place seems to have settled into more or less definite channels. The educated Hindus, where they do not remain Brahmanists, become, we are told, Brahmoists to a man. Brahmoism is pure deism. It has been described as ‘Muhammadianism without Muhammad, Christianity without Christ,’ and many of the attributes it ascribes to the Deity are borrowed from the Bible and the Koran.

The above are some of the religious movements developing in the midst of Hinduism. The other religions in India seem to be in order of importance Muhammadanism, Sikhism, Parseeism, and Buddhism. The Musalmans are, of course, irreconcilables; nor does there seem to be any prospect of change in the case of the other three. Christianity has at present but a small, if energetic, following, chiefly, it would seem, of low-castes¹. The Christians are divided among many sects, from those under the Jesuits down to the adherents of the Salvation Army.

The battle of the religions has only just begun. Its *The* issue is beyond conjecture. Meanwhile there are nearly *practical* 2,000,000 children in the schools of the Education Department. It is admittedly desirable to teach morality, if that is possible. How is it to be done? We are pledged not to

1 ‘During my 18 years’ experience of Bengal I do not remember a single instance of the Conversion of a *respectable* native gentleman to Christianity.’ *New India*, Cotton, p. 159. All other testimony confirms this statement.

teach Christianity, and of the other religions immensely the most important seems to be unteachable.

If we were asked what is the chief teacher of morality in our own country, we should answer at once, public opinion, especially as embodied in literature. Goodness has a natural attraction for all who are brought within its influence. Literature supplies the ideals, and public opinion the punishment of retrogression. In India, as in England, to improve individuals we must improve the mass. The right course will not be the establishment of Christian colleges, nor the dismissal of science professors who sometimes happen in India, as elsewhere, to be agnostics. It is to bring more and more to bear the pure influence of English literature, to encourage the publication of English books, and the best portions—and there are many noble specimens—of Sanskrit literature; to foster the better class of native newspapers, and the growth—which has already been very greatly furthered—of a pure vernacular literature. It is not to be questioned that in this way much has been already effected. Young Bengal and the young Parsees may still be sceptical, in a sceptical age, and disloyal, where the disloyalty is towards a victorious foreign race: but there seems to be no room to doubt that a great improvement is being daily consummated¹. It is agreed on all hands that, even if we omit the case of exceptional men, there has been a general raising of the tone of educated native society, that the character of the law courts has been revolutionized, that the native bench is a body not only of eminent capacity, but also of distinguished probity and honour.

It will be gathered from the above that we are not inclined to expect great things from the moral text-book, which, as we saw, is now again being resuscitated. We cannot expect to educate young people beyond the standard they see observed in their own homes. What we have to do, is to supply materials, to bring fresh light incessantly to

¹ Compare the emphatic and authoritative declarations of the Commission of 1882, *Report*, pp. 300—304, and similar statements dating so far back as the Despatch of 1854, par. 77.

bear on the leaders of a movement, which we are powerless to divert from the course which from the circumstances of the case it will take. The greater elements in the characters of nations are unalterable. To attempt to change could have, if any effect at all, only an evil one. The moral text-book regarded as one item in the supply of materials may be, perhaps, not without its value.

We need not at this date dwell at any length on the advisability of using the Bible as a class-book. In 1852 *The employment of the Bible.* Dr Duff was not prepared to advocate its introduction, where the teachers were non-Christian. Others, it is true, anticipated—or still anticipate—a good result even in that case. But at the present day, when the Christian teachers are insignificant in numbers, the Christian authorities in India seem to be generally in agreement with Dr Duff. But this by no means closes the discussion. To-day there seems to be little likelihood of that misapprehension of the object of Government which was feared in 1852. The Bible might without danger be introduced as a text-book. The Hindus not only tolerate, but are in favour of the Bible, and are interested in a system so different from their own. Nay Brahmoism has—from the days of its virtual founder, Rammohun Roy—patronized the Bible, and has condescended to borrow several items of the Christian conception of God. It is even said that for the sake of Bible teaching some go to Christian schools and colleges who otherwise would belong to those under Government. Under these circumstances the question is one of expediency. The disadvantages of the Bible as an English class-book are its difficulty, the fact that it is a translation, the impossibility of providing an unsectarian commentary on its contents, and the uncertainty of the interpretation. The difficulty of the Bible varies in the various parts; the drawback of its being a translation sinks into nothing in comparison with its immense moral power: the difficulty of the interpretation is no worse in India than in England, and need no more exclude the Bible in India than it does the Veda in Europe. As to the commentary; it would not be impossible to provide a

merely philological and literary commentary such as in England might be attached to an edition of the Koran or the Veda. It would be equally easy to dispense with a commentary. In the last resort even a Christian or sectarian commentary need not be objected to. Nor need we shrink from the employment of the Bible even where the teacher is not a Christian. For the most part it is not likely that he will indulge in wild theories, refutation, or expressions of feeling. But should he do so, we should be prepared to welcome any application of thought to the Scriptures, while against sneers and such expressions of feeling we may trust them to defend themselves.

There seems then to remain, on the whole, no reason for the continued prohibition of the Bible as a class-book¹. But the expediency of employing it is an essentially local question. It is left to local bodies in England: in some schools it is not used, elsewhere it is simply read, in other parts again it is both read and commented on. In India almost all Government schools are now, as in England, controlled by local bodies, containing a preponderance of natives. The employment of the Bible might fairly be left to the decision of these bodies. In regions where the schools contain large numbers of Muhammadans, it will possibly be better to forbear, though the followers of Mahomet by no means despise the Christian scriptures. Possibly in the less advanced districts of the interior the prejudice against the Bible may still linger even among the Hindus, and in those districts it will naturally protect itself. But in most parts, especially on the coast, there will probably be found instead of a prejudice a wide-spread desire to study the sacred books of the English. The Government will of course sternly repress all attempts at conversions. The likelihood of such attempts being made is however insignificant, even where the teachers are Europeans. If it be claimed that the Koran and the sacred books of the Hindus be also

¹ It would be interesting to know the reasons which induced the Commission of 1882, to reject the proposal, cf. *Report*, pp. 128—9. It seems to have been the result of pure conservatism.

admitted, the claim may be allowed. Let the Koran and the Veda be used where Arabic, Persian, and Sanskrit, the Bible where English or the vernaculars, are taught. The Bible will then be read by perhaps three millions of children: the Koran and the Sanskrit writings—which have no such claims as the Bible has—by perhaps fifty thousand. To expect much from the mere use as a text-book would be absurd; but the effect of setting its lofty ideals, in its own vigorous language, before three millions of Hindu children cannot be bad, and may help to forward the improvement in morality which is admitted to be resulting from the spread of English sentiments.

We are now on the threshold of a larger question. If *The employment of the English language.* we ascribe such importance as we have indicated to the study of English literature, it becomes of the greatest moment to determine what position the English language holds and should hold in India. In 1835-6 out of 3573 scholars in schools under Government 1818 were studying English. Forty-six years later English was taught in colleges to nearly 6000, in high schools to over 60,000, and in middle schools to over 70,000 students, while even in primary schools it was studied by over 60,000 children. In high schools and colleges English is not only a subject, it is the medium of instruction, and in it all examination questions asked and answered. Some of the newspapers which are circulated only for native readers are printed by preference in English, and of the total number of books published each year about one in ten is written in the same language. The natives have always been accomplished linguists and many Hindus write in English books which can only be distinguished from works by Englishmen by the superiority of their style; for, while in England we are nourished on novels and newspapers, in India they are engaged upon the best models of prose and verse.

English was, then, in 1881-2 the medium of instruction for nearly 70,000 scholars, and the subject of instruction for some 130,000 more. Doubtless, had we detailed statistics for later years we should find the numbers to be still higher

Where is the increase to stop? Is it to stop at all? English is the one thing for which the natives are willing to pay. Will this cease until English has swallowed up all those troublesome vernaculars which are so distressing to our civiliaus? We gave above quotations to show that the Committee of Public Instruction in 1836 regarded English education as merely a preliminary to the employment of the vernacular when a vernacular literature should have been created. We mentioned the vigorous letters in which Mr B. H. Hodgson championed the native dialects and intimated a danger of English becoming, as Persian and Sanskrit had been, an engine of oppression. We quoted the words of Mr Adam in which he expressed his deep conviction of the impossibility of English ever becoming a *general* medium of instruction.

It is perhaps doubtful whether anyone held the views Mr Adam condemns. Certainly Macaulay and the Committee of Instruction were not tainted by them. But expressions were not seldom used which seemed to imply such. Mr R. T. Thornton has the distinction of having, so far as the writer knows, first and alone advocated the extinction of the native languages. The striking and fruitful comparison between the Roman Empire and the British Dominion in India should, he thinks, be applied here also. Did the Romans, he asks, discourage or did they encourage the study of Latin in Gaul, in Spain, in Dacia, in Africa? Did they make it their business to promote a Gallic, Iberian, or Moorish literature, and spend large sums on providing text-books and translations in those dialects? Why, then, should the English encourage the native languages of India? This was allowing too much to the philologists. Mr Thornton's personal authority is of more weight than are his arguments. In the first place the analogy of the two cases is denied. Were the Gauls and Spaniards characteristically literary nations? Did they possess a copious and refined literature? Were their acquirements in science comparable to those of Europe during the middle ages? Had they for 2,500 years possessed a scientific theory of grammar and a clear analysis of the

forms and structure of their language? *In all these points* the analogy fails. It is strange that Mr Thornton should have passed by the one nation whose literary history can be compared to that of India. Different as the Greeks and the Hindus have been in many important respects, it is impossible to overlook the even more striking similarity. The Sanskrit epics are not Homer, the dramas are not Sophocles, and the philosophy is not Plato. But in what respects are they different? Not in intellectual subtlety, in moral depth, in feeling for nature or human sympathies. The difference is great, but it can be expressed in none of these terms. It is due to that which makes up national character, namely the proportion these several elements bear to each other.

Let us now ask what information this comparison between Greece and India affords. Did the Greek give up for Latin the language which embodied all that remained to solace his present degradation, the memory of the ancient glories of his race and the creations of its genius? The contemporary Latin writers were infinitely superior to the Greeks of that day, but the Greek only held all the more stubbornly to what he possessed, knowing that there at least he had an inexpugnable position. And if we come down to the present day, what do we find? About a century ago Greece was liberated from a Turkish tyranny centuries old. It was suddenly brought into connection with the modern world. Modern ideas commenced and have not ceased to flow in from every side. The Greek of the present day has but a slight racial affinity to the Greek of the Periclean age. What reason is there, then, why he should cling to the traditions of a period with which he has so little historical connection? Might we not expect the modern Greek language to be saturated with words drawn from two foreign sources, from the Turkish, and from the modern European languages, the former memorials of centuries of servitude, the latter of liberation and enlightenment? As a matter of fact the reverse is the case. The modern language of literature is being daily assimilated to ancient Greek. Foreign words

in the popular dialects are being expelled, and it requires little foresight to prophesy the final extinction of the latter owing to the spread of the language of the newspapers. Already matters have advanced so far that the ordinary newspaper is without difficulty understood by anyone who has a fair mastery of ancient Greek, while, if the pronunciation is not that of the age of Pericles, yet Greek scholars in opposition to the rest of Europe are united in declaring that it is. Thus the Greek language has successively defended itself against the encroachment of two languages, the Latin and the Turkish, spoken by peoples to whom Greece was subjected, and with whom it was connected for two thousand years, and is still defending itself against a host of modern languages which are daily supplying it with new ideas.

It will be at once objected that the comparison between the case of Greek and that of Sanskrit is defective. For the natives of India speak not Sanskrit, but Bengali, Hindi, Hindustani, Mahratti, and a variety of other dialects. The answer is simple. The modern Greeks do not speak, the Greeks under Augustus did not speak, the same language as did Pericles; they speak a language which has been by a gradual development derived from the classic Greek. Just so with the Hindus. Hindi, Mahratti, Bengali are not Sanskrit, but they are derived from it. Anyone who knows Sanskrit finds very little difficulty in acquiring the chief modern dialects. The writer is informed that modern Bengali is even more nearly akin to Sanskrit than is modern Greek to ancient Greek; and a Sanskrit scholar who possesses a Hindi New Testament will have little difficulty in recognizing most of the words. More than this, the modern languages, at any rate as used in literature and in the newspapers, are every day becoming more and more assimilated to the Sanskrit, as the modern is to the ancient Greek.

It seems, then, *à priori* unlikely that English will ever become even the general literary language of India. The argument is strengthened when we take the facts into con-

sideration. Within the last 50 years a considerable native literature has been produced. There are people who represent this literature as consisting chiefly of text-books written by Englishmen. This assertion needs investigation. If we ask our friends who have been in India, whether there is any lack of original production among the natives, they promptly answer that there is, if anything, an over-production, and that the proclivity of the Hindu to literature results in the publication of many hasty and feeble writings by persons not naturally fitted for literature. At the same time they are constrained to admit that many meritorious essays are annually issued, the newspapers are often well-written, and there is in general no want of talent displayed. Secondly, if we question the statistics, we shall find these again opposed to the views of those who sneer at modern native literature. In the year 1877—to select the most convenient—4890 books were issued from the presses of India. Of these 544 were written in English, 719 in classical languages, and 3064 in the different vernaculars. The 4890 publications were divided into 1138 educational, and 3752 non-educational works; and again into 2451 original, 2003 republications, and 436 translations. Now obviously nearly all the ‘classical’ works fall under the head of republications. It follows therefore that at least 2451 less 544, or over 1,900, of the works issued were in the vernacular and original. These works treated of the most diverse subjects; the largest proportion were religious, then came ‘miscellaneous,’ next poetry, language, science, law, fiction, the drama, history, and biography, in order as they are here set down. From these figures given it is evident that, leaving out of consideration the immense mass of poetry which lives in the mouths of the people, a considerable original literature is being produced in the native dialects. Sir W. Hunter¹ expresses a high opinion as to its merits, and testifies in particular to the successful revival of the Hindu drama. His testimony scarcely needs support from

¹ *Hist. of India*, p. 129 and c. XIII also. *England's Work in India*, pp. 44 sqq.

statistics, to show the groundlessness of the assertion we are combating.

If it thus appears that there is but little likelihood of English supplanting the native languages as the literary dialect, still less likelihood is there of its becoming the speech of every-day life. There exists some misunderstanding among Englishmen on the subject of Indian dialects. It seems to be thought that there are no languages spoken over a considerable area, every small village having its peculiar dialect, and that English is in fact the only language universally understood and widely extended. The very opposite is the case. There are several languages spoken in India, it is true; but India contains 250 millions of people. The Hindustani is understood all over Northern India, i.e. by about 100 millions. It differs from high Hindi only in the possession of a great number of Arabic and Persian words. The Hindi itself¹ is spoken by about 70 millions, Bengali by 36 millions, Mahratti by 15 millions, Guzarati by 7 millions, Panjabi by 12 millions; while there are, in the north, dialects of lesser range, such as Kāsmīri, Sindhi, and Oriya, belonging to Cashmir, Sindhi, and Orissa, which are spoken by about 2, 2, and 5 millions respectively. In the south besides Mahratti there is the Dravidian group, of which the chief are Tamil and Telugu, both literary languages, spoken by 15 and 16 millions respectively, and Canarese spoken by about 9 millions. Beside these there are a few aboriginal tribes, numbering about $6\frac{1}{2}$ millions of people, speaking dialects of different origin. Thus the chief languages are of considerable range. It is true that, like other tongues, they possess dialects, and the Bengali of the remotest country districts is not easily intelligible in Calcutta. But these differences are everywhere found, and the ordinary Englishman does not readily understand the speech of Devonshire fishermen or Cumberland farmers.

It seems therefore on the mere ground of numbers unlikely that English will ever generally supplant the every-day

¹ It is true that Hindi is divided into two branches (East and West Hindi) which differ considerably from each other.

speech of the millions who often live and die without even catching a distant glimpse of an Englishman. But there are other circumstances which augment the improbability. The natural objects which surround the native of India, the trees, the animals tame and wild, the implements, the character of the seasons, the social order, the associations of literature and religion, are entirely different from what we know in England, and many of them have even no name in English, as every reader of Sanskrit books must discover. On every ground it seems scarcely possible, that English should ever be anything more in India than was, for instance, Greek in ancient Rome; and if we ask how many Greek words have passed through Latin into the modern languages, we shall find the number remarkably small.

We have been induced to discuss the general question at some length owing to its importance in regard to the future, to the many misconceptions which prevail, and to the fact that the great authority of Mr Thornton is in support of the view which seems to us so untrue¹. But the question is also one of administration. How far is English to be encouraged in the schools, colleges, and universities? In 1882 it was compulsory in half the middle and all the high schools, in the colleges, and in the university examinations, except those of the Panjab University. We saw that the Commission of 1882 proposed an optional course in high schools, to correspond to the 'modern side' in our English schools. Its chief characteristic was the substitution of some branch of natural science or other subject in the place of English. This wish to restrict the study of English was no innovation. From the despatch of 1854 onwards authority had always discouraged the too exclusive study of English. But the desire of the people to know the 'language of good appointments' had always been too strong to be checked. They would have English or they would have nothing at all. We have no information regarding the success that has befallen the latest effort of the authorities. The most opposite views

¹ It should be said that this view of Mr Thornton's was propounded as far back as 1875, and has perhaps been by this time discarded.

have been held as to the proper policy to be pursued. Mr. Thornton in 1871¹ would have the Department give full swing to the tendency of the natives and have English taught in all schools. Mr Pincott² in 1884 is anxious that we should abolish the Department, and restore the native schools and the study of oriental languages and literature. The Commission of 1882 proposed that—to prevent the native boards from giving too great attention to the study of English and to high schools—the proportion of expenditure devoted to primary education should be determined by the provincial Governments, a course which has been very generally followed.

If we desire to arrive at clear views on the question, we must pay regard to the following considerations. Firstly, linguistic science has not determined—and no one has a right to proceed on mere conjecture—in what cases a language is impaired as an instrument by the admixture of foreign words. Thus those who declaim against the imparting of English words into Indian dialects on mere indeterminate æsthetic grounds have no case to go upon. Secondly, there is no reason whatsoever for apprehending any sort of harmful results from the borrowing of English scientific or other terms. We may safely rely on the people themselves to borrow the words they need in the most suitable manner and from the most convenient sources, and we have as little reason as we have power to interfere with the natural development of the languages. It is from this point of view that we criticise Dr Ballantyne's proposal to provide a complete scientific nomenclature from the resources of the Sāṅkhya philosophy. If Dr Ballantyne was merely pointing out to persons in search of useful and necessary terms a source which had been overlooked, the plan deserves nothing but gratitude. But if he wished to say that it was right to borrow from that and similar sources, and wrong to borrow from others, the assertion is in the absence of evidence denied. What would English scientists say if they were told that they

¹ *Cornhill Magazine* for 1871, p. 289.

² *National Review*, vol. ii. pp. 870 sq.

were by no means to borrow convenient words from French or German, but must in all cases have recourse to the resources of Latin logic? We repeat that in these matters no general principle can be set up, but use and convenience are the sole test of right. And if we ask the opinions of practical men as to the most desirable policy in the case before us, we recur at once to a recommendation made by a special text-book committee appointed in 1873, which reported, thus:—

‘The question of terminology was discussed at length, and the opinion at which the majority of the Committee arrived was that transliterations of European scientific terms should be employed in all cases where precise vernacular equivalents are not already in current use.’

The rule seems to us undesirable, simply because it is a rule, but it serves to show the general tendency. It should be compared with the remarks of the Rev. K. M. Banarji in his preface to the *Encyclopædia Bengalis*. On the whole it seems likely that while the ordinary words of everyday life and of literature will not be borrowed from English, a considerable number of purely scientific terms will pass over. It is perhaps *à priori* preferable to have terms significant in the native language; but the facts must override the supposition. No one in England complains of the words ‘gas,’ ‘potato,’ ‘coolie,’ or ‘tea.’

We conclude, then, that in regard to language as in regard to religion, the principle should be one of entire neutrality. The Department must follow and not direct the developement of the language. It is unlikely that English will ever encroach so far, it is certain that it will not soon encroach so far, as to render its employment advisable in primary schools, where it is essential that the children should devote their short period of education to things and not to names. For a high education the ability to read English books with ease will long be a *sine qua non*. Hence the language may still remain compulsory in all high examinations. For a commercial or professional education English may not be so necessary; and for those who choose this

education the 'modern side' has been provided. The proportion between the numbers who adhere to the literary, and those who adhere to the commercial side is a matter over which the Department may well exercise some control. The proportion of funds to be devoted to primary education has been in most cases determined. It has of course to depend on the stratification of the population. Should not a similar rule determine the amount of encouragement to be given to high and middle education? It is not necessary to stipulate for hard and fast lines of demarcation. But it is evident that as long as the State maintains any considerable system of secondary schools, it will largely determine the relative numbers who receive a high, or a middle, education. And as the funds come from all classes of the population it is obvious that the education of all classes should be provided for to some extent proportionately.

Summary. The sum of what we have to say is this. It is unlikely that English will ever become the general language either of literature or, of every-day life in India. For primary education it is unnecessary at present, and for high education necessary. The amount of English desirable in middle schools is a local question. But it is necessary that at any rate some fair relation be established between the amount of funds devoted to the three branches. This proportion is liable to change: possibly in a few years there will be a considerable extension of the middle classes in India. The proportion, therefore, of funds devoted to the various kinds of education ought to be fixed for short periods, and to be open to revision. Probably a literary education has up to the present been too much fostered at the expense of a practical one. This is a matter for further consideration. The essential thing is that the Department, as long as it manages the schools, should not ignorantly interfere, or divert the education of the Hindus into unnatural and specified channels. It should keep in touch with the development actually proceeding, and only interpose with authoritative directions where social, political, and educational science

give a clear verdict as to what is right and what is wrong. Perhaps the system of grants-in-aid will supply the best solution of this as of other questions.

What has been said so far, concerning religion and the English language, from the nature of the case refers chiefly *Primary Education.* to the higher education and to the upper classes of the educated population. Primary education is nearly the same the world over, and it is in connection with the secondary training and the classes who receive it that difficulties oftenest arise. It is among these classes that are found those who are destined to guide the future of the people, and hence it is on this ground that questions of principle are oftenest discussed. Nevertheless, primary education is of infinitely greater moment, and in India its importance is even higher than elsewhere. India is remarkable for the numerical insignificance of the middle and upper classes. The dumb masses, proportionally more numerous, are more ignorant than in other civilised countries. Caring only for their caste and local interests, they seldom raise their voice in questions feverishly debated in the ranks above, and even under the greatest extremities of oppression they commonly make no stir. Thus they are not seldom forgotten amid the clamours of the small but noisy classes with whom the English chiefly come in contact, who are but, as it were, the foam on the surface of the ocean. Millions of Hindus live and die without seeing an English face. To them the sole representatives of intellect and culture are the Brahmans, and to this day these wield in the interior an unlimited and terrible authority. On the day on which I write in countless villages in India the Hindu women have sought as an honour the permission to drink the water in which a Brahman has washed his feet. It is, then, a fatal error to lose sight either of the influence of Brahmanism, which is said to make more converts every year than do all the other religions in India, and which is in the main hostile to and contemptuous of foreign knowledge, or of the ignorant millions who are its willing slaves. The shock of English influence has fallen as yet chiefly on the middle classes, who are becoming

against their will more and more affected by it. It is they who fill the Government schools and colleges. For them the native newspapers are written. The masses still lead the same, simple, monotonous, and idyllic life which the Greek invaders beheld with such amazement.

What has English education done for this portion of the people? It is to be feared, very little. Accepting the ordinary calculation, the $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions of boys in primary schools will correspond to a population of $33\frac{1}{2}$ millions out of a total of 250 millions. Do we need to be told that, when only $3\frac{1}{2}$ out of $37\frac{1}{2}$ millions of children are receiving any instruction at all, these belong to only a very small extent to the lower classes? Until 1882 what are known as the 'low castes' were practically excluded from Government schools; and the Commission, in recommending that the regulation dealing with the question which was proposed in the despatch of 1854 should be reaffirmed as a principle, was obliged to advise caution in its application, and even to suggest the provision of special schools. The 'low castes' it is true number only about 18 millions; but it is evident that the main body of the mixed castes is receiving no benefit from the State. It is obvious that with the present funds to be devoted to education there is little hope of, at any rate, soon making any considerable advance. Of any immediate increase in the funds there seems no prospect, English and Hindu agreeing that further taxation is not at present possible. The day when compulsory education may be feasible is evidently very far distant. The only way in which at present any great extension is possible is by aided and unaided schools taking the place of those maintained by the department. But we are told that primary schools have no tendency to increase spontaneously in this manner. It is only by increasing the general taxable wealth of the country—a topic to which we shall have to recur—that general education can ever be effected.

For the present it is of the greatest importance that elementary education should not suffer by neglect. It needs special attention, if only from the fact that it has many

enemies. To pass by the tendency of local bodies to encourage superior in preference to inferior schools, we find the principle still openly proclaimed and defended that it is the business of the English to create a highly educated class, who will then transmit their culture to lower strata in society. Primary education is or was already provided for by the natives themselves. It is useless for Government to waste its funds on doing expensively what the natives themselves can do as well and much more cheaply.

These are the views generally held by a party, which includes many educated Hindus, and among Englishmen, beside Mr Thornton, Sir Roper Lethbridge¹, and many others. Mr F. Pincott in the article above cited would go further. He would endow the village schools with pieces of land, and leave them entirely to local management, with inspection by the masters of middle schools. In higher schools, while tolerating English, he is prepared to bring back Arabic and Persian and Sanskrit and the whole paraphernalia of orientalism. The machinery of the department he would entirely abolish.

We have, we imagine, said enough in Chapter IV. to prove that the system of primary education now existing is immensely more extensive and considerably better managed than was the native system. When we compare the account given in Chapter I. with the list of subjects taught in the modern elementary schools it is equally evident that the curriculum is now much more comprehensive. It may be true that the teacher is often an unreliable person. So we are told. How much more unreliable must he have been, when he was subject to no inconvenient inspection, and generally held his office for life among people incapable of criticising him? It is impossible to show that, so far as the conveying of knowledge is concerned, the modern schools are not immense improvements on their predecessors. Need we quote the evidence given before the Commission of 1882² that in Madras the State primary schools had by the force

¹ Vide *High Schools in India*.

² *Report*, § 121, p. 67.

of competition almost *raised* the unaided indigenous schools to their own level?

*The
'filtering-
down'
theory.*

In the 'filtering-down' theory no trust can be put. The larger features of the character of nations do not change. The intensely sacerdotal spirit of the chief Indian caste, the one which benefits most largely by English education, is not dead. The rules of caste are as rigid as ever. The exclusiveness, which has reigned for three thousand years, is as rampant as before. Of anything like public feeling and mutual confidence and help there is no hope for many a year. It is not conceivable that knowledge should under these circumstances filter down. There is no evidence that it has filtered down. As we said above, elementary education has no tendency to advance spontaneously, and it has to be carefully protected even from the bodies who administer it. In the work above alluded to Sir Roper Lethbridge supplies the best refutation of his own views. The necessity of first creating an educated class, he says, is recognized by the native public opinion. Every statesman who has been suspected of intending to divert any sums from high to elementary teaching has evoked a storm of unpopularity. The case of Sir George Campbell is quoted, whose services to primary education in Bengal we have commemorated. Are these facts in favour of the 'filtering-down' theory, rejected in 1854 and rejected in 1882? The newspapers, it is well known, are in the hands of the class which fills the high schools and colleges. Does their vituperation of Sir George Campbell testify to a strong desire to benefit the poorer classes, or to benefit anyone but themselves?

*Cultured
Society
and
Literary
Educa-
tion.*

Lastly, the necessity of having a 'highly educated' class is altogether denied, if we are to take the phrase, in the accepted sense. There is an education which sharpens the critical, but destroys the inventive faculty, an education which produces politicians, newspaper writers, and men of general capacity and culture. While largely literary, it is not wholly so, but often embraces the general principles of many sciences. It is the chief means of producing a refined and cultured society.

In a backward society such an education is an anomaly, is unnatural, and out of place. This is the case in India. The education given in the schools and colleges there is of the kind we have indicated. We suspect, and this adds force to our argument, that it is often second-rate in its kind. Of the population of India nearly seven-tenths directly, and nine-tenths altogether, are supported by agriculture. A great manufacturing and trading class is not yet created. Commissions in the Army are not open to the natives. Beside a few writers, the Bench, the Bar, and the Government service may be said to represent the whole of the small middle class. The highest class in point of wealth, the native princes and landlords, is largely illiterate. The Brahmins possess all degrees of wealth: the most important of them are the representatives of the orthodox party, which is opposed to English culture. Under these circumstances what room is there for a cultured and leisured society such as the current education is calculated to produce? There is none. Such a society is an expensive luxury which only highly-developed nations can afford to maintain. How, then, can a poor country like India support such a society in addition to the existing aristocracies of wealth and religion? The eighty thousand students in high schools and colleges are more than are at present needed. The professions suitable for educated men are notoriously glutted, and a large and discontented surplus is left, whose disappointment vents itself in perpetually carping at the Government, vilifying the officials, blackmailing, and spreading sedition. Beaten out of the professions by the competition of better men, and often suspected by the orthodox or even excommunicated from caste, these men have no trades or other occupations to which they can turn, even were it not too late. They are lucky if they have not entirely unfitted themselves for, and can obtain, some wretchedly paid clerkship under merchants and tradesmen.

Meanwhile technical education is still 'under consideration.' The medical profession is not popular, and civil engineering is shunned by the educated Hindu, who scorns

anything practical or involving bodily labour. The wealth of the country in coal, in iron and other metals, lies almost entirely neglected. The people are still clothed in cottons from Manchester. The plough which the rayat uses is the same that he used three thousand years ago. The country has been denuded of forests; and that which should be used to enrich the land is burned for fuel. Sanitation and emigration are equally unpopular. The works of art, which at European exhibitions have been applauded as marvels of taste and delicate skill, are produced with the rudest instruments and the greatest expenditure of labour and time. The patterns of which they are copies are of venerable antiquity. Originality in design and execution has been dead for many centuries, and the rule of the English can only testify to 'a general decay of the native arts.' Every commercial or manufacturing enterprise which has sprung up during the last century, including even the cultivation of tea, has been introduced and managed by Englishmen.

Under these circumstances, need it be said that what is most desiderated, is new knowledge, applied to every kind of production? Need we instance the great advance recently made in English skilled work, owing to the extension of practically applied science, and of a knowledge of the principles of art? The spread of technical education and practical science is a matter scarcely second in importance to the spread of primary education itself. It is from this source chiefly that we must look for the vast increase in material wealth for which the country supplies such great natural advantages. Such an increase is not only desirable: it is imperative. Of the previous checks on population in India, wars and famines, the former have ceased to operate, and the latter have been provided against by the most careful precautions. The mass of the people is growing at a rate which will double it in the course of a century, and already farms which previously maintained only one family have to provide for two or three. The increase in the extent of land under cultivation which has been going

on for the last century cannot proceed indefinitely. The only method left of providing for the growing population is to improve the existing methods of production, to introduce new methods by which the land may be induced to yield more, and to create a surplus wealth which will enable India to purchase from other countries. To this end a great extension of practical scientific, and of technical education is not only one means, it is far the greatest means. By model farms and manufactories, by suggesting the introduction of new staples of production, the Public Works Department can do something. But it is only by creating an interest in the practical applications of science, by making it understood that a high education is not merely a literary and quasi-scientific or mathematical training, but embraces every kind of knowledge which is considerable in extent, well-ordered, and clearly grasped.

We are led, then, to this conclusion. It is not high education that India needs; it is practical scientific education. It is not by a highly educated society that modern knowledge is to be introduced. The attempt would result—as it has already resulted—in fostering an unpopular party, which, though it has its merits and numbers not a few able and upright men, has up to the present been characterized by want of originality, and to some extent by a proclivity to imitate the English, and abuse them. Let knowledge be introduced in such a way as to give a practical test of its value by improving arts and manufactures, and increasing men's actual power over nature for the production of wealth. We are far from neglecting the desirability of general culture. But this has a spontaneous tendency to grow up where it is needed. On no ground does it appear to be the great desideratum for India at this moment. It is to the spread of practical knowledge, the influence of which can be impaired by no sophistries, religious or otherwise, that we have chiefly to look not only for the advance in material prosperity which is so greatly needed, but also for the breaking down of prejudice and the encouragement of fellow-feeling between men. Under these circumstances,

too much stress cannot be laid on the desirability of technical education, now so long promised, and of a great extension in high schools and colleges of the study of the physical sciences. It is not to be expected that the Government can often create new industries by itself, but by turning a stream of science on the existing arts, and by causing it to be understood that a knowledge of material nature is as worthy an object as is a wide acquaintance with metaphysics or the capacity to write flowery English, it may not only produce immediate results, but lay the foundations for future prosperity.

*Female
Educa-
tion.*

From primary and high education we naturally turn to the education of women. It requires but little discussion, yet it is the greatest crux of all.¹ The reason is this. By Hindus who have received an European training it is admitted to be a necessity, and even among the orthodox it has found able champions.² The matter is no longer for argument, but for performance. The orthodox party seems to have been silenced, but its prejudices have not abated in force. It is only by time and persistence that the desired result can be effected. The natives have scarcely yet reconciled themselves to the prohibition of female infanticide: to ask them to educate the girls, whose unwilling parents they are, seems to them an outrage. But the greatest difficulties are the seclusion of women, the degradation of the Hindu widow, and child-marriage. That the Government can do much towards removing any of these does not seem probable. Its past efforts in favour of the widows have been ineffectual. It is to the advocacy of educated natives³ that we must chiefly look for advance. The difficulty of providing teachers and inspectresses will ere long disappear, as a larger proportion of the girls are found in high and middle schools. But when only about one in one hundred and seventeen of the girls of the school age is under instruction, it is obvious how much remains to be done.

¹ e.g. the celebrated Pandit Vidyāsāgar.

² Among whom the Parsis and the Brahmins are the most energetic.

The education of the Muhammadans can now scarcely be said to need special encouragement. In 1881-2 the scholars of this religion were in number less than a fourth of the Hindus. In 1887-8 they number over a third, and the proportion of Muhammadan scholars is greater than the proportion of Muhammadan population. How far the sentiments of Musalmans towards their rulers have changed¹, is perhaps uncertain. Sir Syad Ahmad Khan, who was one of the chief promoters of the education movement among his coreligionists, has always been very favourably inclined towards the English and towards English education. His great services have long been recognized by the Government; but the effect on the general body of Muhammadans is undetermined.

Nor, again, in the case of any other kind of class education does any disputed question of principle seem to be any longer involved. That it is desirable on every ground that low-castes and outcasts should be treated exactly as are those above them is generally admitted. In practice, however, the matter still requires rather delicate handling. The education of the aboriginal tribes needs still less discussion. In this as in female education the Missionaries seem more successful than any other agency.

The upper classes, on whom much depends, still require considerable attention. It is extremely desirable that the natural leaders of the people, whether they be spiritual authorities as the Brahmans, or dependent on wealth and position for their importance, should not remain apart from the general drift of education. As a body the orthodox Brahmans are well-affected towards the English, whose treatment of them contrasts vividly with the oppression which they suffered under their previous rulers; and now that the Panjab University has been created, especially for oriental studies, and that Sanskrit is once more held in honour in the land of the Veda, it seems that they have as a body little to complain of. Their undoubted intel-

¹ For information on this point Sir W. W. Hunter's *Indian Musalmans* should be consulted.

lectual superiority, and the unlimited authority which they wield over two hundred millions of Hindus, make their loyalty a matter of peculiar moment. The nobles and rich classes are of considerable, if less, importance. But, as special schools have been provided for them, where every precaution is taken against the intrusion of their inferiors, this class in the absence of any opposing cause cannot long remain apart. It is obvious how much the conferring of honorary distinctions, employment in important posts under Government, and other political measures, can contribute to produce this extremely desirable result. In no stage of society is it anything but dangerous that those who possess leisure, high spirit, and hereditary capacity for ruling, should remain discontented, disaffected, and unemployed.

*Machinery
of the
Depart-
ment.*

So far we have been speaking of the *subjects* and the *distribution* of instruction. The *machinery* of the Department is of extreme importance. We have indicated the great value that attaches to the Local Boards. To interest the natives themselves in the subject of education, to facilitate the ascertainment of their desires and grievances, to ensure accurate information and careful supervision, and—what is perhaps as important as anything—to provide for the political education of leading men, these are the great desiderata which the Local Boards can supply. It is true that their action has at present to be carefully watched, and that they are often too subservient to the English Chairman; but these defects may be only temporary. We cannot but think that the Boards are one of the permanent portions of the educational machinery.

The relations of the Department to aided schools have been the subject of much discussion. In the face of the growth of state-conducted education in Europe the settled policy of advocating grants-in-aid may seem retrograde. But India is not Europe. There the extension of education is what is now chiefly needed. The greater cheapness of aided and unaided schools is a very great argument in their favour. To this must be added the difficulties which attend the

question of religious and moral instruction, and those which concern the question of English teaching, most of which are satisfactorily settled by the system of grants-in-aid. Now that the Brahmos and the followers of Caitanya are reported to be beginning to apply themselves to education¹ the importance of such a solution is increased. It is true that the use of the Bible even in departmental schools could safely be left to the Boards. But the religious question means more than the introduction and use of the Bible, and in any case chiefly concerns secondary education, which even on other grounds should be left to the system of aid.

The growth of private, i.e. unaided and uninspected, schools is also to be welcomed as a sign of the resurrection of individual enterprise. The individual, the last product of civilization, needs especial encouragement in a land where one man has differed from another rather from belonging to a different stratum than by reason of individual, as distinguished from class, traits. Nearly half a million children are now in private schools.

Among points of minor importance the separation of the teaching from the inspecting staff, and the larger employment of native teachers, are so obviously steps in the right direction that they need not detain us here.

The future of British Education in India, conditioned as *Prospects in the future.* it must be by various influences, may be variously construed. It is obvious how greatly the whole future of the empire would be affected, should some part of it be found colonizable by the English race, or on the other hand should the British power sustain a serious reverse. Nor must we overlook the possibility of a reaction against European knowledge, or of a religious revival. So far as can be judged, however, none of these events are at all probable. Education must for many a year be directed by an English Government, and on the same lines as at present. Of the higher instruction

¹ Vide Dissent by K. T. Tlang, Esq. to Report of Education Commission, Appendix, p. 617.

² The proper method of assigning aid is not worth discussing in England. We saw in Chap. v. that the Commission recommended the restriction of the system of payment-by-results to primary education.

the English language must long remain the chief medium, as well as one of the most important subjects. But we must repeat once more how desirable it is that physical science, the truths of which can be everywhere tested, should receive a larger share of attention than hitherto. In a country where twenty thousand men and women die yearly from the bite of the cobra alone, medicine, at any rate, would seem to be worth studying. Again, the attention of educated Hindus might well be turned to a greater extent on India itself. In what region do animals and plants afford a more interesting study? Where is there more scope for geology and meteorology? In what part of the world is the action of water of greater theoretical and practical moment? Nowhere do ethnological and linguistic problems attain to a higher degree of complexity and importance. Nowhere does a larger mass of material lie ready to the hand of the student of archaeology, custom, law and usage, or, finally, of the science of religion. In short, both the land and the people offer a vast field for research of every kind, which should be least of all neglected by those who have the right to lay claim to both as in a special sense their own.

But we cannot expect to hear of any great improvements or scientific discoveries until research is more largely endowed, and until the rich have been attracted to the new learning. At present scarcely anyone studies except with a view to a profession, and almost the only real students are the representatives of a dead society and religion. If the educated Brahmans could, without losing their present position, be attracted to the movement, their superior gifts might give a great impulse to the civilization of India. Now are they entirely obdurate. Even from their short intercourse with the Greeks they learnt something which they have gratefully recorded. Many of the best students are Brahmans, and now that an English education confers such great advantages, there is hope that interest¹ will induce the learned class to anticipate the decay of their authority.

¹ I am informed that a pandit who knows English can easily earn 100 Rs. a month, while, if ignorant of English, he cannot often expect more than 10.

For the lower classes English education has something of the character of an emancipation. The uneducated Hindu is enslaved in three ways. He is the slave of custom and caste, of Brahmanism, and of superstition. A great number of the rayats are in addition enslaved to the money-lenders. From all of these it is desirable that they should be set free. Here lies the great importance of the extension of primary education. Among the subjects now taught in elementary schools at least two are calculated to free the children from errors engrained in their parents, I mean history and geography. To learn that the world was not made for the Brahmanical Indians, that the earth does not consist of concentric rings with India at the centre, nor does it rest on the back of a tortoise, cannot but have the secondary result of shaking belief in many other childish fables. Where a little elementary science is taught, if it do nothing else, it may make it plain that, whatever be the power of the Brahman, he cannot make water boil at any other temperature than that at which it naturally boils, and that even a million repetitions of Rama's name will not create a good crop without manure, or keep fever away from unsanitary homes. Arithmetic, if properly taught, may reveal at what a fearful disadvantage money is borrowed when interest is at twelve per cent., and thus encourage prudence by adding to it the power of calculation. But it is not from mere teaching that the desired results can be expected to flow. To attend a school, conducted by non-Brahmanical authorities, in which the high caste boy is treated exactly as the low caste boy, and where facts are taught independently of religious interpretation, must tend to rub the edges off many ancient prejudices. It is here that the great importance of the provision of normal schools and trained teachers comes in: it is obvious how much good can be done by a single able and well-disposed teacher, and how much harm by one ill-disposed. What is to be expected from primary schools is not that the children should pick up very much information—a few plain facts will suffice—but that they should learn that there are things which are everywhere and at all times

immovably true, and should experience the futility of many prejudices which their parents are not likely to be able to shake off, that it should be as widely as possible known that, in the eyes of the Government, at any rate, there is no difference between Brahman, Sudra, and outcast, but individuals of every class must rank by individual merits alone.

*Retro
spect.*

We will now add a brief retrospect. The English found in India a widespread system of elementary and higher education, of which the former was mainly practical, the latter mainly literary, philosophical, and religious. The first period of British effort, which ended in 1823, was occupied with petty and isolated endeavours, in most cases of a charitable nature and conducted by missionaries. During the next period, extending to the year 1854, the Government began steadily to devote attention to the cause of higher education. This period is more interesting than either that which preceded or that which followed, because during it the most important questions of principle, the position of the English language and of elementary education, were discussed and settled. In 1854 the despatch of Sir Charles Wood set forth at length the lines on which operations have since been conducted. Hence the period from 1854 may be described as one of administration. The chief innovation was the introduction of local rates devoted in part to the support of chiefly primary instruction. From 1870 to 1881 the mistaken policy became general of encouraging departmental as opposed to aided, and higher as opposed to elementary, education. Since the important Commission of 1882-3 this policy has been discontinued. In point of numbers aided schools now hold the first place: the department comes next; then unaided but inspected; lastly, entirely private enterprise. The indigenous schools have been either absorbed or replaced, and few any longer remain. The missionaries have acquired considerable control over secondary education, but have not neglected primary. About 200,000 children are at present under their instruction. In the future elementary schools should still be the chief care, but a proper proportion of institutions of a higher class ought to be main-

tained. In the latter the training should be less literary, and to a greater extent scientific, than it has hitherto been. Provision is being made for the education of the native nobles. Endowment for research is a great desideratum. The education of women still presents practical difficulties, and needs unremitting attention. Religious and moral instruction should not be generally attempted, but the Bible, might, should the natives desire it, be with caution locally introduced. On the subject of the use of the English language no dogmatic position can be adopted: the question must be permitted to settle itself in the natural way by general convenience, which alone possesses the *arbitrium ac norma loquendi*. The system of local control is one of great promise, but will for some time need careful watching. Compulsory attendance at school is a still distant goal. For the present the best policy is to foster private effort, which spreads the expenditure over a wide area, and provides a solution for some difficult questions. As regards the sums to be expended there is little prospect of considerable immediate increase. This will have to await the advance of general prosperity, which depends on many causes, but can be greatly fostered by the encouragement of practical and scientific training. On the whole, what has been done bears numerically but a small proportion to what remains to be effected.

Dull as it may have seemed in the telling, the history of British Education in India is not uninteresting. The reaction of the west on the east, and the revival of peoples everywhere visible, in Japan, in China, in India, is a phenomenon as remarkable as any in history. In India, a country where a social order in theory not unlike the ideal Republic of Plato has been based for two thousand years on a deep philosophy in some respects similar to his, the study of this revival cannot be without attraction for educated men. A primitive society has suddenly awoke to find itself face to face with an enemy it is powerless to resist. The system of caste, excellent in many respects¹ and of unrivalled tenacity,

¹ On this subject Prof. Monier Williams has some remarks in his *Brahmanism and Hinduism*; vide Chap. XVIII. and esp. p. 461.

is neither habile nor productive enough for the requirements of the modern world-wide competition, from which it would be idle to expect that India can stand aside. Caste, it is truly held, must either pass away or suffer modification, and herewith the foundations of Hindu society must be reconstructed. The modern world, where it does not absorb, cannot but corrupt and destroy. Of its emissaries, the teacher and the missionary, the repeating rifle and the rum-bottle, one or other is sure to find an entrance. It was fortunate for India that the missionary and the teacher arrived first, though the rum-bottle has of late years made alarming progress. In the East British Education is an agent at once destructive and constructive. Its negative influence, which has been sometimes only too apparent, is active even where least perceived: its positive influence has latterly given many signs of its working. There for the present the matter rests. But, whatever may be the future of the English connection with India, it is at any rate certain that, apart from improbabilities, 'by planting our language, our knowledge, and our opinions, in our Asiatic territories, we have put a great work beyond the reach of contingencies.' The ideas which have been introduced cannot be ineffective or forgotten among a people so interested in intellectual questions as are the Hindus. They cannot but germinate, and finally change the whole face of native society. To many the destruction of the old idyllic life, with its sacred and immemorial customs, even perhaps with its enormities, may give cause for regret. The present is, if strong, yet also prosaic. The future must share many of its characteristics. But we may perhaps here apply the words of a great English poet:—

Haply, the river of time—
 As it grows, as the towns on its marge
 Fling their wavering lights
 On a wider, statelier stream—
 May acquire, if not the calm
 Of its early mountainous shore,
 Yet a solemn peace of its own.

APPENDIX A.

Vide p. 22.

CONCERNING the few charitable institutions, not of purely missionary origin, which existed during the first period, scraps of scattered information may be gathered from Mr Adam's First Report, from the memoir by Mr Fisher in the appendix to the Parliamentary Report of 1832, and from the *Calcutta Review* of 1866, vol. i. pp. 57—93. Three of these, which alone deserve mention, may be here enumerated :—

(1) The old Calcutta Charitable School, founded in 1729 by subscriptions amounting to £2,400, was temporarily broken up by the sack of Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah in 1756. This was however a blessing in disguise, since its resources were augmented 'by restitution money received for pulling down the English Church by the Moors' (i.e. Muhammadans). Yet from 1756 to 1787 it was so badly managed that it contrived to spend £1,200 a year on the education of twenty children. In 1787 it was reformed and placed under a board of management. The Bishops of Calcutta have always interested themselves in it. A practical training for telegraphists, apothecaries, etc., is given. In 1865 the school contained 200 boys and 90 girls.

(2) The institution of the Free-School Society, founded in 1789, was partly maintained by Government.

(3) The 'Benevolent Institution' at Calcutta, was founded under the encouragement of, and managed by, the Baptist Missionaries of Serampur. It provided education for Christian children of both sexes and all nations, including a number of Portuguese Catholics. Vide Marshman's *Lives of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, II. pp. 422 sqq

APPENDIX B.

Vide p. 25.

THE institutions, which were placed under the control of the Committee of Public Instruction, were mentioned above on p. 25. We now add some few details.

(1) The *Chinsurah* schools were originally founded in the year 1814 by the energy of a missionary, the Rev. Mr May. Their success quickly reached the ears of the Bengal Government, and in 1815 it was determined to subsidize them. The contribution of Rs700 was a year later increased to Rs800. At that time the schools had increased from 16 with 950 scholars to 30 with 2,000 scholars. By 1829, owing to official discouragement, they had decreased to 14 with 1,200 scholars. They were conducted by their original founder, and imparted an elementary education. The prohibition of the teaching of Christianity is viewed with great disfavour by the author of the *History of Christianity in India* (Hough, iv. pp. 438-9).

(2) *Jaya Narayan Ghosal's Charity School*, now *Jaya Narayan College*, founded at Benares in 1818, was partially supported by Government, which from 1819 onwards supplied Rs3,000 a year. It provided a secondary training in English, Persian, Hindustani, Bengali, reading, writing, history, geography, astronomy.

(3) The *Ajmir* schools, four in number, were instituted in 1818 from a bequest of the Vizir of Ajmir, and placed under the care of the missionary Carey. The Government contribution of Rs3,600 per annum involved from its commencement in 1822 the discontinuance of Bible teaching.

(4) The *Bhagalpur* school (1823) was for the children attached to the regiments there.

(5) The *Murshidabad Madrassa* was founded in 1821.

(6) The *Agra College*, started in 1822, was supported by the revenues of lands given as an endowment. The studies were Persian, Arabic, Sanskrit, Hindu law, and, an obvious concession, Arithmetic.

(7) The *Sanskrit College at Calcutta* was at the time of its foundation in 1823-4 the subject of some discussion between the Bengal Government and the Court of Directors. In a minute of 1811, Lord Minto, at that time Governor-General, lamenting the rapid decay of Hindu literature and art, had projected two Sanskrit colleges to be stationed at the ancient seats of Nadiya and Tirhut. The project, sanctioned at the time, was not carried out. In 1821, when it came before the Court of Directors again in an amended form, as a scheme for erecting one college at Calcutta instead of two at Nadiya and Tirhut, the supreme authority had changed its opinion¹. It was thought that the original plan had been fundamentally erroneous, that Hindu literature was not likely to answer expectations, that, in fine, the great end should have been to teach not Hindu learning but useful learning. We see here the germs of the celebrated controversy which broke out a few years later. At the time the Committee of Public Instruction disregarded the remonstrance, alleging on the one hand that the Court was ill-informed on the resources of Sanskrit literature, on the other that they themselves were pledged in the case of the proposed college (a substitute for two others) to teach Hindu learning. The College which opened in 1824 with a yearly endowment of £25,000, 7 pundits, 50 pupils, was devoted, in spite of the Directors and the protests of the celebrated Rammohun Roy, to Indian learning. At the present day it is the most important Oriental College in India.

(8) Details concerning the Hindu College were given above.

¹ James Mill was the author of the minute referred to, which perhaps explains this change.

APPENDIX C.

GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION DURING THE YEARS 1813-1830. Vide p. 25.

THE authority for the statistics which follow is a memoir by Mr Francis Warden with a supplement by Mr Fisher, published in the appendix to the evidence taken before the Committee on India Affairs in 1831-2.

Year	Bengal	Madras	Bombay	Total
	£	£	£	£
1813	4207	480	442	5129
4	11606	480	499	12585
5	4405	480	537	5422
6	5146	480	578	6204
7	5177	480	795	6452
8	5211	480	630	6321
9	7191	480	1270	8941
1820	5807	480	1401	7688
1	6882	480	594	7956
2	9081	480	594	10155
3	6134	480	594	7208
4	19970	480	1434	21884
5	57122	480	8961	66563
6	21623	480	5309	27412
7	30077	2140	13096	45313
8	22797	2980	10064	35841
9	24663	3614	9799	38076
1830	28748	2946	12636	44330

From the above it is obvious that any arrears which may have been due for the years 1814-1823 were wiped out in 1824-1825, and that from that time forward a considerable sum was annually spent beyond that enjoined by Parliament, and in fact over three times the required sum was devoted to education.

APPENDIX II.

LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK'S PROCLAMATION, DATED
7th MARCH, 1835. Vide p. 35.

1st. THE Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters dated the 21st and 22nd January last; and the papers referred to in them.

2d. His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of Education would be best employed on English education alone.

3rd. But it is not the intention of His Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords; and His Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice, which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which in the natural course of things would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions, and that when a professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

4th. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of Oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

5th. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and Science, through the medium of the English language: and His Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government with all expedition a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.